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ENGLISH-JAPANESE CODE-SWITCHING
AND ITS SOCIAL ROLE
IN A JAPANESE-CANADIAN SPEECH COMMUNITY

BY

©

NAOMI SHIMA

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1992

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ABSTRACT

It is taken as a matter of course for an individual to speak at least two languages in a metropolitan environment in which multiple ethnic groups of people live. The development of rapid transportation such as jetliners has made it easier for people to move and travel to other parts of the world. Mass communication systems have also made it possible to send news and information in different languages anywhere in the world within seconds. In this global environment, the complex usage of plural languages in a single society is now quite common in many societies.

In multilingual societies, people often switch between languages for various purposes according to certain norms and interlocutors. This behavior is called code-switching, and is often observed among bilinguals who have the same ethnic background.

This study focuses on the interactive meanings of English-Japanese code-switching and the language choice behavior of Shin-Issei (post World War II immigrants) and Nisei (the second generation) Japanese-Canadians living in Lethbridge, Alberta, and its vicinity. This is an exploratory study of language behavior in an intra-group setting which suggests that code-switching between the two generations serves to strengthen social ties and identify individuals as members of the same speech community. English-Japanese code-switching has been little studied, and some unique characteristics of code-switching in this language pair will be noted.

The typology of code-switching viewed from the perspective of syntax will first be discussed. Various connotative interactive meanings of code-switching will next be examined in terms of the influence of extra-linguistic factors such as participants, settings, and topics of conversation. The individual's different usage of code-switching will also be indicated which leads to consideration of the social role of code-switching in an English-Japanese speech community.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Bilingualism is not rare in modern times because of frequent travel, and the development of mass communication. Many societies in the world are far from monoethnic and monolingual; many others consist of multi-ethnic groups of people who use different languages. Two basic questions about bilinguals in those societies are (1) how do they use the two languages; and (2) are there distinct grammatical, cognitive, or social systems controlling the use of the two languages?

Researchers have noted the increase of numbers of bilinguals; and so the study of bilingualism, especially of mechanisms for using two languages, has attracted much attention (Auer, 1984a; Hakuta, 1986; Hamers and Blanc, 1990). The range of study is quite broad, from neuropsychology, sociolinguistics, and studies in language acquisition, to the field of bilingual education. The present study is concerned with a sociolinguistic perspective on bilingualism, and specifically with the phenomenon of "mixing" two languages. The general questions asked are "How do bilingual speakers communicate with each other by way of the two languages?" and "Do they really mix two languages, or in the end do they choose a single language?". These questions led to a focus on bilinguals as they use their two languages in multilingual settings, with analysis of systems of language alternation between two languages among bilinguals.

A phenomenon that is unique to multilingual groups is code-switching, or an alternation between languages. This phenomenon appears to vary in pattern according to such factors as social situation and the topic of conversation.

Code-switching is operationally defined as "alternating use of two languages at the word, phrase, clause, or sentence level" (Valdes, 1981:95); or "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode" (Heller, 1988b:1). For the past two decades, study of this kind of language behavior has attracted much attention from linguists (e.g., Petersen, 1988; Nishimura, 1986; Clyne, 1987; Scotton, 1982), psychologists (Genesee, 1984; Titone, 1987) sociologists (e.g., Aguirre, 1985; Fishman, 1964), and anthropologists (e.g., Gumperz, 1982). It became especially popular approximately ten years ago, coincident with the development of the general study of bilingual speakers' fluency in two languages.

Among these fields of research, linguistics has contributed most to the study of code-switching. Linguistic approaches are further divided into grammatical and sociolinguistic traditions. Grammatical study of code-switching involves the analysis of the grammatical structures or rules governing generation of the code-switched words and phrases in a sentence, based on the grammar of a single language (Nishimura, 1986; Petersen, 1988; Clyne, 1987). The goal of the study from this view is to find a theoretical framework for explanation of code-switching in terms of grammatical and semantic constraints. The other focus of code-switching study is based on the sociolinguistic point of view. It seeks to make explicit the situational and interactive meanings of code-switching, and to describe how code-switching functions effectively in communication among bilinguals (Breitborde, 1983; Lipski, 1985; Auer, 1984a,b; Beardsley et al., 1971). Researchers claim that code-switching involves the semantics of specification, focus, exclusion of someone from conversation, stress (emphasis), changing subjects, and so on (Faltis, 1989:119; Fitch and Hopper, 1983:116; McClure, 1977:108-110; Grosjean, 1982: 152). These meanings are considered to employ communicative strategies which are specific to bilinguals. One question that is raised by assuming that speakers, when they switch codes, employ specific strategies to create meaning, is whether code-switching can be considered to be a strategy even though, in most of the cases, code-switching appears to be an unconscious act.

The majority of bilinguals do not really notice the fact that they shift a language, but some of them consciously use code-switching as an effective communication strategy. What are the major causes of code-switching, especially in the latter case? Does code-switching derive from other social factors in the sociolinguistic environment, or come from some other aspect of consciousness of the bilinguals?

1. PRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM

Although code-switching has been thoroughly researched in terms of grammatical applicability and interactive meanings, there are not many studies about its social role - that is, for what purpose people switch languages. It is also true that only a limited number and range of languages have been used as models for the study of code-switching. These two points are raised as problems in this paper. It is important to broaden the range in order to understand the mechanism of code-switching, the ways in which code-switching is interpreted, and the consciousness of language use of the people in any bilingual speech community.

The limitation of the study of the general phenomenon of code-switching is evident in the range of languages studied so far. In linguistics, sociology, and anthropology during the past decade, the pairs of languages studied have been restricted mainly to those languages whose grammatical structures are generally similar to each other, e.g., English-Spanish (Lipski, 1985; Aguirre, 1985; McClure, 1977), English-Hindi (Kumar, 1986; Singh, 1983; Naval, 1989), English-French (Heller, 1982; 1984; Bourhis and Genesee, 1979); and German-Italian (Auer, 1984 a,b); and rarely pairs with different grammatical structures, for example, English-Swahili (e.g., Scotton, 1989). Further study of code-switching between languages whose grammatical structures are very different might lead to the discovery of a new aspect of the functions and meanings of code-switching. Also, as different languages have different cultural concepts affected by the societies in which they are spoken, other new aspects of code-switching might be identified by studying other pairs of languages. Viewing code-switching from this perspective, the wide range of studies of various language pairs are vital to make research on code-switching more comprehensive.

With the exception of studies by Blom and Gumperz (1986) and Woolard (1989), few studies have focused on the social role of code-switching or the use of code-switching at the community level. There are, however, several studies of code choice in multilingual societies which focus on the social functions of each language considered from the community level. Code choice refers to the selection of a single language according to the setting or interlocutor, whereas code-switching refers to any abrupt and momentary shifting from one language to another, within a specific speech context. Platt (1977) studied English-educated Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaysia; and found that the Chinese community members selected a language with reference to a linguistic hierarchy, choosing formal Malaysian English for prestige language and Bazaar Malay for low status language according to the setting and participants of a conversation. Other case studies were done on Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, English and other dialects in Bombay, India, by Pandit (1979), and on Hungarian and Austrian-German in Oberwart, Austria by Gal(1979). De Vriendt and Willemyns (1987) studied language choice between French and Flemish in Brussels; Parkin (1977) focused on Swahili, English, and vernacular in Nairobi, Kenya; and Khubchandani (1979) conducted research on Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani, Panjabi, and Khari Boli (New Delhi standard) in India. Although these studies of code choice considered the social role and macro-level of language use, the study of code-switching has neglected them.

As noted above, code-switching studies to date have dealt primarily with two questions, grammatical constraints, and the social and interactive meanings of face-to-face interaction; and there has not been much attention paid to the language behavior of code alternation from a holistic view - the community level of analysis. This aspect of the general study of code-switching is very important because code alteration is in that context very complex, including all the complex social factors which constitute conversational settings. Explanation of the social context for code-switching will necessarily illustrate the structure of communication of a particular group of people; and will contribute to interpretation of interactive, connotative meanings, as well as to specific social factors involved in code-switching.

How is code-switching used by the members of a specific bilingual community, and what is its role? In order to answer to these questions, observation of code-switching behavior at the community level is necessary.

2. OBJECTIVES

There are three objectives of the present study. The first objective is to categorize types of English-Japanese code-switching from the syntactic point of view. This part of the analysis is based on the linguistic structure of code-switched sentences. Grammatical structure is the criterion for categorization of examples of code-switching, and grammatical constraints on the switched sentence segments will be discussed according to the criterion of grammatical acceptability.

The second objective is to study social and interactive meanings of English-Japanese code-switching, and in the process to identify social factors which may trigger code-switching. Each posited interactive meaning found in the data will be presented with transcribed conversational examples; and will include explanation of the settings, with reference to participants and topics. Some specific characteristics of English-Japanese code-switching will also be discussed. For the first and the second objectives of the present study, some findings from the previous studies will be compared with the results of the present study.

The last objective is to identify the larger speech use patterns that contextualize code-switching, with specific reference to language choice, in the specific Japanese-Canadian speech community studied here; and to examine the social role of that language behavior. The individual's language use will be observed first. Then the focus will shift to the community level, in order to generalize about patterns of the use of code-switching, and to suggest possible social functions of that language behavior.

These objectives raise the following specific questions for this study:

1) What types of code-switching are identified, intrasentential or intersentential? What type of bilinguals (categorized by competence in each language)utilize what type of code-switching? Is intrasentential code-switching restricted to fluent bilinguals?

2) Can the interactive meanings of code-switching which have been identified in the previous studies be applied to English-Japanese code-switching in the community which was observed in this study?

3) Is there anything specific to Japanese culture and language that makes English-Japanese code-switching unique?

4) Is code-switching a conscious strategy for communication?

5) What does code-switching mean in terms of the larger context of people's interaction in a speech community?

With these objectives and questions in mind, this study was conducted in Lethbridge, Alberta, in a community of Japanese-Canadian bilinguals, in a series of social events including a special-interest meeting, a class, a social club, and in a family residence. The descriptive framework employed was the ethnography of speaking, because it allows for description of specific speech events, but requires that they be contextualized at the macro level of the defined bilingual speech community, the group of Japanese-English bilinguals in the Lethbridge area.

When studying the language use or behavior of a specifically-defined population in a particular society, it is important to be familiar with the people and the community; to know the particular history of the group, their individual and collective characteristics, and the nature of their relationships with each other and to the group. With this group, the knowledge of their history of settlement in Canada is vital to an understanding of their perspective on language, of the cultural norms and the social background in which their language are spoken. With this in mind, a brief summary of Japanese-Canadians' history is offered here for the purpose of contextualizing and understanding relationships between their language use and their social situation within the Canadian social framework. I will also provide a brief history of the Japanese-Canadian community of southern Alberta in particular; and introduce the city of Lethbridge, where the data was collected.

BACKGROUND OF JAPANESE-CANADIANS

History of Japanese immigrants in Canada

1. Pre-World War Two

The first Japanese immigrated to Canada in 1877. Fishing and lumbering were the major industries with which the majority of the Japanese were involved during the early immigration period. Fishing was centered primarily in the areas of the Fraser River and Steveston in British Columbia; and lumbering was more widely dispersed around such communities as New Westminster, Fraser Mills, Mission City, Woodfibre, Ocean Falls, Port Alice, and Royston. An account of their situation is provided by Adachi (1976).

Even though many of the early immigrants from Japan found employment, the jobs did not provide them with enough money to make their own living. Their wages were very low compared to those for Occidentals. Many of them had to face a reality which was totally different from what they had imagined in Japan. Their financial condition would not improve no matter how hard they worked. They had dreamed of making a fortune at a stroke in the frontier by working hard; and had expected to send money home to Japan, where many had family members who were suffering from poverty. Most of the Japanese who came to Canada in early times did not really intend to stay for long; they thought that their stay would be temporary - just until they could earn sufficient money - and they had planned to go home in glory. Almost all early Japanese immigrants were physical laborers with poor education and without any English-speaking ability.

As years went by things became more difficult for the Japanese to live and work in British Columbia, due to social discriminations and unfair treatment of the Japanese by the Occidental citizens, employers, and the provincial government. Most discrimination was focused on the fishing and lumbering industries in which the Japanese engaged. Japanese citizens could not obtain licenses to exploit those resources. In 1902, the government of British Columbia announced the enforcement of a law which prohibited Orientals from going into the forestry industry.

Those Japanese who had been forced out of their places of work and who thus had lost their means of livelihood, turned to agriculture, a field in which most early Japanese immigrants had engaged in Japan. They cooperated with each other to get enough capital to buy small pieces of land. They grew many kinds of vegetables and fruit, and in time became dominant in growing strawberries. By 1941, agriculture was the most important economic endeavor of the Japanese in Canada.

2. During World War Two

As described by Adachi (1976), peace and stability did not last long for the Japanese. Their dream of the future suddenly collapsed at the beginning of World War Two. They were labeled as being from an enemy nation. Their destiny was determined by the federal government of Canada, influenced by the government of British Columbia, which appeared to feel threatened by the Japanese immigrants.

In 1942, the Canadian government announced total evacuation from the West Coast of the Japanese and their Canadian-born descendants. The evacuation plan effected movement of people to three labour-intensive projects: the road camps, the sugar beet camps, and other inland encampments. The road camps were only for men aged 18 to 45 (Shimpo, 1986:194,210). The sugar beet project was located in three provinces, Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario. The majority of Japanese were put into inland camps located in so-called "ghost towns", former mining towns such as Greenwood and Slocan City located in southeastern B.C.

About a year before the war ended, the Canadian government reoriented the relocation plan to send the Japanese either to the east side of the continent or back to Japan. In the month of March, 1945, the RCMP effected the repatriation campaign. Japanese-Canadians were asked if they would voluntarily repatriate to Japan. If they chose to remain in Canada, their only choice was to settle east of the Rocky Mountains.

Lethbridge and Southern Alberta Japanese Speech Community: History

Lethbridge is known across Canada for its Japanese Community. A symbol of the importance of that community is the Nikka Yuko Japanese Garden (Japan-Canada Friendship Japanese Garden), one of the most nearly authentic Japanese gardens in North America, which was opened in 1967.

It is not known when the first Japanese immigrant arrived in the Lethbridge area; but there was a great demand for labor for the railways, mines, sugar beet fields, and farms in southern Alberta in the early 1900s; and that probably drew some Japanese to the area (Iwaasa, 1972:3). It was not only in Lethbridge itself, but also the surrounding small towns where there was demand for labor, where the Japanese immigrants settled first.

During the period of railroad expansion in southern Canada, approximately 300 Japanese workers were sent from British Columbia to work in railroad construction between the towns of Fort Macleod and Lethbridge (Iwaasa, 1972:8). Later, many Japanese men left railroad construction to work in the coal industry in Coalhurst, Diamond City, and Lethbridge. In 1908 and 1909, a total of 205 Japanese worked on contract at a local sugar beet factory (ibid: 8).

It was not an easy life for those early immigrants around the turn of this century. No matter the kind of work, it was a common experience for many of the Japanese to face the antagonistic feelings of workers of other ethnic groups. They were disappointed with their working conditions, frustrated in achievement, and confronted with the hardships of the natural environment. After struggling with those conditions, many early Japanese settlers in southern Alberta eventually moved back to British Columbia, or drifted to the United States, seeking a better life.

The situation for sugar beet workers was rather more favorable than that of the others. They learned the irrigation system, saved capital, and bought pieces of land jointly with other Japanese co-workers. Some bought small pieces of land by themselves. With momentary success, many of them encouraged their family members or relatives in Japan to come to Canada to form an agricultural work force, and it is this group of people who are regarded as the pioneers of the present community by their descendants.

The town of Raymond, near Lethbridge, was the center of Japanese immigration from the early 1900s to post World War Two. Japanese bought the land around this area, and formed their own community. In 1914 they organized an association called the Raymond Japanese Society for the purpose of "promoting cooperation among the members and assisting one another culturally and financially" (Iwaasa, 1972:37). A most important event for the Japanese was the establishment of a Buddhist Church in Raymond in 1929. This religious institution has been a place of comfort and the center of social activities for Japanese-Canadians ever since (Lee, 1992).

After experiencing fluctuating years of rich and poor harvests, and after having survived World War One, the environment became chaotic for Japanese-Canadians when World War Two began. There was a boycott movement against the Japanese in British Columbia, and those who resided in southern Alberta suffered from social pressure from the other dominant ethnic groups.

World War Two brought another dramatic change to the southern Alberta Japanese community. The evacuation plan for British Columbian Japanese-Canadians coincided with a need for labour on the sugar beet farms of Southern Alberta, and approximately 2,250 Japanese were brought from B.C. as supplemental workers (Iwaasa, 1972: 71). The beet workers were moved in family units, and two or three families were taken charge of by one landowner.

Though this was a plan sponsored by the federal government, things did not necessarily go smoothly for the Japanese. There was of course opposition from other citizens and from the provincial government over the terms of Japanese residence and how it would be supervised, and over the effects of relocation on other citizens' lifestyles. One individual expressed his anger and anxiety by saying:

> "Why in the name of God are you allowing the Mormons to bring in all them Japs, all they want to do is to get cheap labor. Why not give some of the poor people the same chance you are giving the Japs. ... Raymond has lots of poor people who could do with a little help. They are kicked in the face and Japs are given the chances" (Iwaasa, 1972:70).

The provincial government agreed to the Japanese evacuation to southern Alberta with the stipulation that every one of the relocated Japanese would leave at the conclusion of the war. The City of Lethbridge made a resolution, agreed to by the Security Commission, that the Japanese were not allowed to move about, work, or reside in the city, though they could shop during the day (Iwaasa, 1972:75). The British Columbia Security Commission and the federal government were supposed to finance such major responsibilities as the provision of education to Japanese children, and the Commission had to deal with such general supervisory tasks as dealing with problems which arose between the Japanese and the owner of the land on which they worked.

Work at the sugar beet farms was not easy. Not all evacuees had been familiar with agriculture, so a major initial difficulty was the acquisition of a basic knowledge of farming. Living conditions were bad, and the evacuees were ill-equipped to live through the cold and icy winters of southern Alberta. The first year was painful, and there was not a good harvest. The hard work of the Japanese was responsible for the maintenance of an adequate supply of sugar beets during the rest of their three-to-five-year evacuation period.

After the war, evacuees were redispersed to Japan and to areas farther east in Canada such as Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec. Some relocated within Alberta, in Edmonton and Calgary; and some decided to stay in southern Alberta to engage in agriculture. They became reconciled with the surrounding environment and the society; and formed an organization, established religious associations for mutual support, and participated in local activities along with the other ethnic groups of the area.

The war ended almost half a century ago, and a third generation of descendants of Japanese-Canadian evacuees now participates in Canadian life. After such a long time people tend to forget the negative things that have happened, but the experience of forced work on sugar beet farms will never be forgotten by the Japanese who spent time in southern Alberta during the war. That was the place where they suffered, and at the same time it was where they started on a journey of searching for a new stable life in other parts of Canada - it is probably "the origin or the core" of the land where they have begun to build the foundation of what they are today.

The City of Lethbridge

Lethbridge is located 135 miles southeast of Calgary, Alberta. The Japanese-Canadian population of the area, 3100 in 1989, makes it noteworthy as the largest Japanese-Canadian population in Alberta (Kobayashi, 1989: 23).

Lethbridge is the third largest city in Alberta, with a population of 60,614 in 1989 (The City of Lethbridge, 1991-1992:15). Its history began in 1869 when whiskey merchants from Montana built a fort to trade with the Blackfoot Indians. After the banning of the whisky trade, the coal mine industry replaced it as the major local industry. The new industry led to the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which connected to both Canadian and American markets. The coal industry flourished but did not last long. Irrigation began shortly after 1900, and agriculture has been the major industry ever since. The region has been a "vast treasure house of grains and vegetables" in Alberta, producing wheat, barley, oats, rye, oilseeds, sugar beets, alfalfa and vegetables (The City of Lethbridge, 1991-1992:i). Its secondary industries are food processing and meat packing. Lethbridge now enjoys a diversity of businesses: services, manufacturing, public administration, transportation, metal fabrication, equipment manufacturing, electronics assembly, and so on. The population of the city is increasing steadily, especially because of recent expansion of retail and service industries.

Japanese Residents in Lethbridge

Like every other society which changes as generations go by, the Japanese community of southern Alberta has changed its structure and demography. Raymond used to be the center of Japanese people's activities; but because of the increasing number of people who left farms and moved into the city, that role has transferred to Lethbridge. Japanese people have come to Lethbridge from the neighboring towns of Taber, Coaldale, Rosemary, Picture Butte, and of course, Raymond.

Japanese groups and associations play a major role in the social life of Japanese-Canadians in the area. Six such associations are Choju Kai (a club for those of advanced age), Japanese Canadian Association, Japanese Heritage Society, Satsuki Kai (A Women's club for those who have Nisei husbands), Southern Alberta New Japanese Immigrants Association, and Tonari Gumi (a senior citizens' cultural club). There are three Kenjin-kai (a society of people from specific prefectures in Japan), for people from Okinawa, Saga, and Tottori. There are four religious groups: Honpa Buddhist Church, Lethbridge Buddhist Church, Lethbridge Japanese Christian Fellowship, and Southern Alberta Japanese United Church. There are many cultural clubs, formed on the basis of interest in Chigiri-e (a picture mosaic made from torn pieces of paper), Go (Japanese chess), flower arrangement, Kami-Ningyo (a paper doll making craft club), Shigin (a recitation club of a Chinese poem), and tea ceremony. There are two Karaoke clubs, two dance clubs, two sports clubs for Judo and Karate, and a Japanese language school.

The associations meet on regular or irregular bases. The cultural clubs and the language school have activities once a week, and organize concerts or exhibitions once or twice a year to demonstrate their skills and achievement. Many of them use the Buddhist church, a community hall, or college rooms for their activities. Religious institutions, meanwhile, hold their gatherings on every Sunday; and occasionally have special activities, such as bazaars and religious celebrations.

The members of these clubs and associations vary by age and generation; from Issei to Sansei (the third generation), and the degree of participation differs according to generation. The most active members are Shin-Issei and Nisei; and in Lethbridge, there is better communication between these generations than was seen in, for instance, Edmonton. Most of these people are bilingual, although some Nisei cannot speak Japanese. Many Issei who are so-called "early century timers" have already passed away, but those who are still active participate in Tonari-gumi and enjoy their senior life. They can speak English; but since their former life styles as farmers excluded them from occasions for using English, some, especially women, still do not feel comfortable speaking it. On the other hand, most of the third generation have lost facility in Japanese. Some can comprehend when spoken to in Japanese, but cannot really use it for communication. Furthermore, most of them are in their twenties or thirties; and live away from the city. Only a small number of Sansei who still live around Lethbridge become the members of the clubs and associations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

It has been only recently that code-switching has attracted so much research interest. The studies completed by linguists, sociologists, and anthropologists have been productive of theories and case studies. It should not be overlooked, however, that research interest has been rather narrowly focused on either syntactic constraints or interactive meanings; and for the most part has included only closely related pairs of languages such as English-Spanish and English-French.

1. *BILINGUALISM*

The study of bilingualism is a popular field. The range of disciplines involved in the study includes linguistics, psychology, neurology, education, and sociology. The purpose of such study varies by discipline: bilingual education, second-language learning, interpretation, translation, the language behavior of an individual, interpersonal relations, neuropsychology, and the role of language in intergroup relations (Hamers and Blanc, 1990:1).

A. Definition of Bilingual

A basic question is "what is a bilingual?". This term is used by many people without much concern about the significance of a precise definition. In fact, when one gives the definition careful attention, one realizes that the meaning of the term bilingual is vague and problematic. The common definition is an individual who has a good command of two languages, generally at equivalent levels of fluency. Webster's Dictionary (1989:96) defines "bilingual" as "speaking two languages with equal fluency, or a person with complete mastery of two languages". The dictionary definition is not clear enough for an academic definition - the terms "equal fluency" and "complete mastery" are not conclusive enough. How is it possible to measure one's language ability to conclude that one has equal fluency in two languages?

Because of the lack of clarity of the meaning of the term, many researchers have begun their study by defining bilingualism in more nearly accurate and comprehensive ways. There are various definitions proposed to date, but they are largely divided into two main types of definition; one focuses on the idea of equality of proficiency in two languages, and the other type of definition focuses less on equality of proficiency. Bloomfield's definition is in the former category. He claimed that bilingual meant only a person who had a perfect command of two languages in "native-like" proficiency (Bloomfield, 1933:56). Weinreich's definition is vague, and depends less on proficiency. He viewed bilingualism as a psychological conception, and defined it as "the effectively separated use of two languages" (Weinreich, 1953:71). Macnamara's definition is more explicit, and is categorized as one of those definitions which focus less on equal proficiency of the two languages as definitive of bilingualism. He proposed that a bilingual is anyone "who possesses at least one of the language skills even to a minimal degree in their second language" (Macnamara, 1967:59-60). The language skills he included in his definition are listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing. Hornby, consequently, brought various definitions of bilingual/bilingualism together, taking the middle position that follows.

> "The best way to deal with this variation in definitions would seem to be to recognize that bilingualism is not an all-or-none property, but is an individual characteristic that may exist to degrees varying from minimal competency to complete mastery of more than one language" (Hornby, 1977:3).

Besides scholars who take either of two extremes of definitions based on degrees of fluency, there are some scholars who add other considerations to their definitions of bilingualism. Grosjean viewed bilingualism from a sociolinguistic point of view, and said that bilingualism includes concrete language contact in interpersonal and intergroup relations in speech communities. Her claim is that "a true bilingual is someone who is taken to be one of themselves by the members of two different linguistic communities, at roughly the same social and cultural level" (Grosjean, 1982:232). Titone (1987) viewed it from a psycholinguistic point of view, and said that bilingualism is "the individual's capacity to speak a second language while following the concepts and structures of that language rather than paraphrasing his or her mother tongue" (quoted in Hamers and Blanc, 1990:7).

Because of the complexity in defining bilingualism, which arises from the different views of the various researchers, it is a hard task to find a single satisfactory operational definition. The main factor which makes the definitions so diverse is the difficulty of the measurement of language competence. No discipline has yet provided a comprehensive definition of a bilingual individual. There is no standard to assess fluency and competence to define an individual as a native-like speaker. No single explicit evaluative measure of linguistic proficiency has been developed, and as a result multiple definitions of bilingualism pervade academia.

B. Types of Bilingual

The definitions of bilingualism suggest different types of bilinguals, and this question is considered next. Lambert (1955) proposed two types of bilinguals defined in terms of language competence. One is the "balanced bilingual" whose language competence in two languages is equal, for example, Lethbridge Nisei. That definition does not imply the requirement that the speaker's proficiency be high in two languages, nor that the speaker be fully competent in terms of language skills; just that the "balanced bilingual" has a "state of equilibrium" in the two languages (Hamers and Blanc, 1990:8). The other type is named the "dominant bilingual", which is the case when the speaker's language ability in one language is superior to his ability in another. He does not use one of the two languages in his daily communication, and he is likely to acquire it later as a second language (ibid:8).

In the most widely used classification of bilinguals, Weinreich (1953), Ervin and Osgood (1954) and Lambert (1969) defined "coordinate and compound" bilinguals. Coordinate bilingual refers to a speaker who learns one of the two languages as a second language in a different environment from the one in which he acquired his first language. He stores the vocabulary of the two languages separately in the brain. For this type of bilingual, each language has a separate meaning system (Hakuta, 1986:95-96; Beardsmore, 1982:22; Ervin and Osgood, 1954:143-144). The bilinguals who belong to this type learn the two languages in a different and separate environment; for example, one language may be learned at school and the other at home

(Hakuta, 1986:95). By contrast, compound bilinguals learn two languages in the same sociolinguistic environment. A compound bilingual has usually been raised in an environment in which two languages are used by the same people and in the same situations with equal frequency (Hakuta, 1986:95; Beardsmore, 1982:22; Ervin and Osgood, 1954:142-143). In terms of linguistic consciousness, the meaning systems of the different languages are joined in one set in the compound bilingual's meaning system (Hamers and Blanc, 1990:8). In other words, a compound bilingual "has one set of meaning unit and two modes of expression" (Grosjean, 1982: 240-241). Because of a more sophisticated system of language acquisition and a more nearly natural assimilation to an environment in which two languages are used, compound bilinguals are considered to have acquired higher language abilities than coordinate bilinguals.

There are more definitions of type. The first typology is based on the process of becoming a bilingual, and there are three types: childhood bilinguality, adolescent bilinguality, and adult bilinguality. This classification is affected by the age of an individual when he masters two languages (Hamers and Blanc, 1990:10). Another categorization of type includes additive bilingualism and subtractive bilingualism, a distinction determined by the social status of the two languages and the speaker's development of cognition with respect to each language. If the social value of the two languages is almost equal, an individual, especially a child, can develop cognitively as a bilingual, forming a world view that combines the two languages. On the other hand, if his mother tongue is devalued in society, his cognitive development may be slower than that of the monolingual counterpart (Hamers and Blanc, 1990:11). The former is called additive bilinguality and the latter is called subtractive bilinguality (ibid:11).

The various viewpoints taken by researchers produce the differences in categories of bilingualism. All of them share one characteristic of being able to use two languages, no matter how fluently, how old an individual was when he acquired two languages, or how he attained competence to use them freely. The distinctive features of a bilingual person and the characteristics of bilingualism are still not really precisely defined, although holistic and general characteristics have been clarified in the literature to a certain extent.

2. *CODE-SWITCHING*

There are two main categories of studies of code-switching: one is based on linguistics, and the other is based on sociolinguistics.

A. Linguistic view - Syntax

Code-switching studies based on the linguistics point of view focus on the linguistic constraints on specific grammatical rules. Linguists contribute to the study of code-switching by (1) investigating variability and difference in the grammars of the languages which are involved; (2) pinpointing the syntactic categories involved; (3) documenting the occurrence of different types of code-switching; and (4) positing therefrom universal rules which may apply to many languages (Clyne, 1987:740-762).

In early studies, researchers had only a superficial understanding of code-switching; but as research increased, the early concepts about code-switching have developed clearer definition. Weinreich, one of the earliest linguists who researched language contact, specified a restricted category for code-switching in describing it as follows:

> "The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutor, topic, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence" (Weinreich, 1953:73).

Later, Heller (1988b) defined code-switching as "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode" (p.1). A more holistic and specific view of code-switching was described by Valdes as:

> "alternating use of two languages at the word, phrase, clause, or sentence level. Such alternation differs from what has technically been called interference in that the items introduced by the bilingual speaker avoid interference in the strict sense by a switch between languages, and the result is successive stretches of speech belonging to different systems" (Valdes, 1981:95).

Some other early studies were done by Ervin-Tripp (1964) and Fishman (1965), who studied extralinguistic factors which appeared to make bilinguals shift languages. Ervin-Tripp researched the relationships of topic and lexical choice to syntactic performance. Fishman classified words related to everyday life into "domains"; then tried to find the connection between domains and the language preference of bilinguals (Nishimura, 1986:123).

At present, researchers categorize code-switching as being of two types, intrasentential code-switching and intersentential code-switching. Intrasentential code-switching is language alternation at the level of the word.

A sentence is made, based on a grammatical rule from one language; and words of the other language are used in the sentence, whose grammar is based on the rule of a dominant language (Nishimura, 1986:125). This type of code-switching is thought to indicate the bilingual's high degree of mastery of the grammars of the two languages (Lipski, 1985:14). The other type of code-switching is called intersentential code-switching. This is the shifting of language at the sentence level (ibid:2). For example, if the first speaker uses a certain language to say things, an interlocutor uses the other language in response. Berk-Seligson said of intersentential switching that it "is associated with nonfluency or dominance in one language over the other"(1986:314).

In early studies, code-switching occurring within a single sentence was not admitted, as indicated in Weinreich's definition. More recent studies recognize frequent alternation between languages at the word level in a single utterance as valid instances of code-switching. This new trend in the study of code-switching, however, necessitated clarification of the distinction between code-switching and borrowing, especially in terms of single lexical switches. In some studies, the similarity between the two leads to some ambiguity, and to definitional confusion.

Code-switching and borrowing share the characteristics of carrying a macro-level social meaning. Their occurrence indicates some social contact between two different linguistic groups, and can be "social markers" of group membership (Scotton, 1989: 340)

Scotton (1989) and Salmons (1990) distinguished between code-switching and borrowing in three ways: frequency of occurrence, lexical equivalence, and phonological integration. First, they remarked that more frequently used words were considered to be borrowing whereas infrequently used words were instances of code-switching. Second, the difference in lexical equivalence of two languages distinguishes one from the other. In the case of borrowing, only the specific lexicons of embedded language are used in the matrix language, and they are already part of the lexicon in the matrix language. By contrast, code-switching is the "behavioral pattern" (Scotton, 1989:340) of using sanctioned words of the embedded language. A speaker has some options to choose from the lexicons from either language (Salmons, 1990). Last, both authors noted that borrowing tended to be phonologically integrated into the other language's system, but code-switching lacked this integration. In addition to these three, Scotton (1989) claimed that it was only code-switching which connoted micro-level social meaning for interaction. Some linguistic forms carry social meaning which is only interpretable by a specific group of bilingual people. A speaker can be identified by the forms, which can also be social markers of an individual. Salmons (1990) further mentioned that syntactic integration was another indication of borrowing whereas in code-switching, there was less integration.

The syntactic contexts in which intrasentential code-switching is possible are of particular interest. Poplack (1980) studied the relationship between linguistic competence and types of code-switching. She claimed that intrasentential language alternation should be admitted as code-switching, and that intersentential code-switching is used primarily by partially fluent bilinguals (quoted in Berk-Seligson, 1986:327). She consequently stated the hypothesis that language ability and the frequency of intrasentential code-switching are related, and that "the ability to code-switch intrasententially may be used as a measure of bilingual competence" (ibid:314). Concerning bilingual ability and the use of multiple grammars, Lipski (1982) said

> "intrasentential code-switching is one of the most striking bits of evidence in favor of the hypothesis that bilingual speakers, at least those who are sufficiently proficient in both languages to engage in spontaneous switching, have, in addition to two essentially distinct grammars, a mechanism that fully integrates the two, to the point where it becomes more useful to speak in terms of a bilingual grammar" (p.198)

Thus, in specifying the relationship between grammatical constraints and the bilingual's language ability, the general theory developed in linguistics-based studies of code-switching is that the level of ability in the two languages and types of code-switching are related: the higher a bilingual's language competency, the more intrasentential code-switching is likely to occur. Intrasentential code-switching is considered to be used by more fluent bilinguals, whereas intersentential code-switching is generally used more by not-so-fluent bilinguals. The distinction is based on the assumption that mixing two languages' grammar in a single sentence is the indication of higher achievement in two languages, since the speaker has to be fairly familiar with two different types of grammar.

Taking up that issue, Sankoff and Poplack (1981:5) studied code-switching in terms of grammar, and proposed the concept of "equivalence constraint". It is an idea that "the order of sentence constituents immediately adjacent to and on both sides of the switch point must be grammatically correct with respect to both languages involved simultaneously". They also concluded that bilinguals probably have a code-switching grammar in addition to the two grammars of their languages. They hypothesized that any rules which constructed a sentence containing code-switching would reflect such a grammar, which would have constituents of two grammars: some part of the code-switched sentence is based on L1 and the other part is based on L2 (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981:22). Woolford (1983) also agreed with them on the point that the structure of code-switched sentences were derived from the mixture of phrases from the two languages.

Petersen (1988) investigated a Danish-English bilingual child's grammar, and drew a conclusion that a dominant language controls the grammar; and the lexical morphemes of the subordinate language are subject to the grammatical rules of the dominant language (Petersen, 1988:486). This "dominant language theory" (ibid:486) was supported by another consensus of linguists such as Sridhar and Sridhar (1980), who studied Kannada (spoken in India) -English code-switching; and Joshi (1985), who worked on Marathi (spoken in India) -English case. Nishimura (1986) who investigated English-Japanese proposed the concept of a single language assignment of code-switched sentences. Two of the other languages of these pairs belong to non-Indo-European languages, (Kannada-Dravidian, Japanese-Ural-Altaic). This comparison implies that intrasentential code-switching is grammatically possible between two languages with completely different structures, and that intrasentential code-switching may occur between many heterogeneous language pairs.

B. *Sociolinguistics/Discourse Study*

(1). The Nature of Code-Switching Study

The other focus in studies of code-switching study is on discourse in sociolinguistics; and is engaged in by linguists, sociologists, and anthropologists. Such studies deal with the norms of the community, and "the relations between linguistic and social processes in the interpretation of experience and construction of social reality" (Heller, 1988b:2). How code-switching occurs in social contexts, - when and by whom - and the "referential significance" of code-switching and its relationship to discourse are made explicit in macro-level or community-scale investigations, as well as in micro-level studies in which face-to-face individual interaction is the context for code-switching (ibid:2). Heller (1988b) describes the nature and the objectives of such a code-switching study as follows.

> "[C]ode switching should be seen as a cover term for a wide variety of variable language contact phenomena, and that types of code-switching and their relationship to other language contact phenomena are probably only interdistinguishable in community - specific ways in terms of their functions in social interaction. ... in order to predict whether code-switching is likely to occur at all, the analyst must have an understanding of community speech economies, of individual speech repertoires, and of the linguistic relationship the grammars of the languages or language varieties involved bear to each other" (Heller, 1988b:3-4).

The study of code-switching has altered through time from a "deterministic model" dealing with forms and functions, to a "dynamic model" in which the motivation and attempts of a participant in conversation to switch code could be measured by code-switching (ibid:3). This more recent approach interprets how linguistic resources attain their social and referential meanings; that is to say, code-switching is investigated in relation to extralinguistic and sociolinguistic factors such as topic, relationship between a speaker and interlocutors, setting (Kumar, 1986:202); "socioeconomic status, the power and position of the participants in the social hierarchy" (ibid:202), and "the presence of other known or unknown persons" (Nelde, 1989: 79).

One of the most famous studies of the dynamic model was conducted by Blom and Gumperz (1986). They investigated language shifts between two local dialects, Ranamal and Bokmal, in a small town, Hemnesberget, Norway. In their monograph, two types of code-switching, "situational code-switching" and "metaphorical code-switching" are proposed. Situational code-switching shows the relationship between language and appropriate social situation (Blom and Gumperz, 1986:424; Trumper, 1984:37) and is "patterned and predictable on the basis of certain features of the local system" (Blom and Gumperz, 1986:409); and the "extralinguistic parameters" such as participant, topic, and mode (Auer, 1984b:88). These factors seem to describe how bilinguals choose the right code. For example, if an outsider joins the conversation among local people, the tone of the group will be altered. Norms which are mutually accepted by the same group members will be changed once outside factors interrupt them. In contrast to this pattern, "metaphorical code-switching" shows "where alternation enriches a situation, allowing for allusion to more than one social relationship within the situation" (Blom and Gumperz, 1986:409). This type of code-switching does not have an immediate connection to extralinguistic factors shifting the organization of the conversational situations. As the social situation remains the same, so does the posture of participants of conversation. Code alternation occurs owing to the topic of a conversation rather than the social situations (Blom and Gumperz, 1986:425). Language alternation is not predictable, and totally depends on the speaker's decision (Auer, 1984b:88). It involves situations in which the same group of people, having two or more different relationships, choose a proper code depending on a situation. For instance, a clerk and a customer use a standard language for the business exchange in a shop, but switch to a dialect after work at the same place to talk about private matters (Blom and Gumperz, 1986:426).

Blom and Gumperz also discussed code choice and its meaning in the small community. They found that the people alternated two languages but never mixed them; they spoke either one or the other. Judging from this language use phenomenon, they concluded that switching from one dialect to the other implies a sign of a speaker's "local identity" (Ibid:411).

Scotton (1983) proposed "the negotiation principle" which "directs the speaker to choose the form of your conversational contribution such that it symbolizes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange" (Scotton, 1983:116). She argued that language choice or code choice reflected negotiation among interlocutors of a conversation (ibid:115). According to her, "code choices are always situated, and they are not a function of situation, but rather of negotiation" (ibid:115). For example, an individual who may speak several languages uses only a certain language when he talks to certain specific people on a certain occasion - for example, making a speech at a company's manager meeting, which has a limited and predictable audience. The social context of language use and the speaker's relation to addressee(s) affect the speaker to select which language to use for communication; this complete process of reaching that level of language choice is what she called "negotiation".

(2). Interactive Meanings and Causes of code-switching

Another aspect of sociolinguistic study of code-switching deals with the interactive meaning of code-switching in conversation. Many researchers have provided abundant information about this aspect of code-switching.

Monica Heller (1988a) described the various social and strategic meanings of code-switching by referring to many previous case studies completed by linguists and anthropologists. She proposed that "code-switching is a conversational strategy in terms of stylistic effects, such as aggravating or mitigating such conversational acts as requests, denials, topic shifts, elaborations or comments, validations, or clarifications" (Heller, 1988a: 77). Gal's (1979:77) research with German-Hungarian bilinguals contained good examples of using code-switching to convey anger and to escalate an argument. McClure's work (1981) with Spanish-English code-switching indicated the social meaning of attracting an interlocutor's attention. In Calsamiglia and Tuson's monograph (1984), a meaning of mitigating tensed situations was indicated, such as breaking the ice of a long silence occurring before code-switching during a conversation.

Beardsley and Eastman (1971) estimated that pauses and markers might be one of the causes of code-switching. They remarked that pauses occurred if a speaker had difficulty finding proper words in one language intrasentential, and that after pauses the speaker would find the right expression in another language (Beardsley and Eastman, 1971:25).

Auer (1984) further studied the function of code-switching. She suggested that code-switching could occur on a cue like intonation, rhythm, and accent, all of which might give clues to change subjects or to put an end to a conversation (Auer, 1984a:18).

Grosjean (1982) added more meanings and causes to code-switching, including to "fill the lack of vocabulary in one language", to "continue the last language used (triggering), to "quote someone", to "specify addressee", to "mark and emphasize group identity", to "exclude someone from conversation", to "change role of speaker", to "raise status," and to "add authority" (Grosjean, 1982:152).

Because of the wide range of causes and strategic meanings attributed to code-switching, Heller held the view that code-switching was ambiguous in terms of its social meanings at the level of face-to-face interaction (Heller, 1988a:94). She affirmed this point in this description:

> "...code-switching provides a clear example of the ways in which individuals draw on their linguistic resources to signal changes in the different aspects of context which they wish to foreground, to make salient, thereby opening opportunities for the redefinition of social reality, exploiting or creating ambiguity in the relationships between form and context to do so" (Heller, 1988b:10).

(3). The Social Role of Code-Switching

Following this discussion of code-switching in terms of its typology and its meanings in interaction, let us turn our attention to the question of the social role of code-switching in a multilingual society. This question has relevance to Scotton's question "why do speakers maintain more than one language in situations of daily contact with other speakers when many of them share the same linguistic repertoire?" (Scotton, 1982: 432).

Scotton sought the clue to answer this question by looking at the functions which each code or language fulfills in multilingual society. She thought that "different codes are maintained because they serve as social markers for different subgroups" (ibid:432). To show how this is so, she mentioned an example of a conversation between a woman and a man who had an argument. They used Swahili, which was a mutual code for both of them, at the beginning of the argument; but as the argument proceeded, they switched to their own languages: the woman switched from Swahili to Luyia, and the man switched to Kikuyu. Scotton extrapolated from this example that code-switching is a symbol of a group identification, and "can be explained as the mechanism of the negotiation of respective rights and obligations of participants" (ibid:433).

Gumperz (1982) made this point more explicit by using two terms: "they code" and "we code". The "we code" is the codes used to mark intra-group interaction: a dialect, a mother tongue, or the first language. In contrast, the "they code" is the one used to negotiate with interlocutors from an outgroup (Trumper, 1984:36). People in multilingual communities choose the right code, either "we code" or "they code", in the right situations by negotiating with interlocutors, according to relationships between themselves and interlocutors, and to the norms of conversation.

Reviewing Gumperz'(1982) terms in reference to either code choice or code-switching, it becomes apparent that speakers draw a line between "we" and "they"; in other words, code choice signals a kind of self-categorization of affiliation to a certain social group. Code choice and code-switching may have the function of confirming ethnic identification and group solidarity.

The study done by Blom and Gumperz (1986) mentioned previously deals with the strengthening of group identity. Woolard (1989) studied Catalan (a minority language) and Castilian (an official language) in Catalonia, Spain; and found an interesting phenomenon: Catalan people do not alternate code with reference to the topic of a conversation. According to previous studies, code-switching from a minority language tends to occur when a topic is involved with something formal and specialized. Woolard concluded, because of this unusual finding, that choice of Catalan functions as a strong indication of group solidarity. Bourhis and Giles (1977) examined the conscious use of accent and dialect, and found that accent and dialect function to indicate a speaker's identification. SanAntonio (1987) examined language use by bilinguals working in an American company in Japan; and described the code-choice behavior of the bilingual Japanese workers as playing a role of mediation between the employer and the other Japanese workers and also as identifying employees who could work with Americans (p.37). The other Japanese co-employees without much English ability surprisingly did not have antagonistic feelings toward them. SanAntonio reasoned that "the lack of resentment comes from the fact that other Japanese employees consider the English-fluent Japanese to have a foreign identity" (ibid:40). Higa (1974) researched the characteristics of the Japanese language spoken by Issei, Nisei, and Shin-Issei in Hawaii. He found that they used English words in categories such as number and kinship terms in Japanese utterances. It was not just mixed usage of two languages, but rather a unique style of language use which could be recognized by those Japanese-Americans living in Hawaii as being their distinct style of speech. Higa defined this as "Hawaiian Japanese dialect".

Lastly, Kanazawa and Loveday (1988) studied language usage among the Japanese immigrant community in Brazil, and said that code-switching was a stage in the process of language loss through generations. They characterized each generation's usage of language, either Japanese or Portuguese; and indicated that it was only the second generation who were bilinguals and switched codes frequently.

There have been relatively few studies of code-switching at the macro-level, or studies dealing with social relations. Among scholars who have chosen this perspective, Breitborde stressed the importance of studying code-switching in social situations; and said:

> "The importance of all this for bilingual code switching is that it is only through understanding the internal structure of social situations that the meaning of the switch emerges. The model of domains allows us to recognize on the basis of what statuses a situation is primarily defined, or if *any* statuses outweigh any others in a particular situation (i.e., this would include a negotiable situation). This information is provided by an analysis of the degrees of separation and overlap among domains. Like other behavior in actual events, code switches are meaningful in terms of the macrolevel social system. With this knowledge of the structure of a social situation, we can tell if a switch is metaphorical or situational (in Blom's and Gumperz's terms) or neither (as is

> discussed in the case which follows). We have come full circle to an understanding of the meaning of code switching in terms of the organization of social relations, but we have now a more revealing model of that organization" (Breitborde, 1983:29).

As Breitborde says, it is meaningful to study code-switching not only by focusing on interactive meanings as a communications strategy, but also to seek the role of code-switching in social structure.

English-Japanese Code-Switching

Among the limited number of research studies which go beyond the usual language pairs of English-Spanish and English-French, the study of English-Japanese code-switching is obviously new. That combination has been studied recently by only one researcher, Nishimura. Her studies are linguistic-based, and focus on grammatical constraints (1982), language assignment to intrasentential code-switching (1986), and the structure of English-Japanese intrasentential code-switching (1989). She found that language alternation occurred between syntactic equivalents although their position in a sentence was opposite, (Nishimura, 1986:139; 1982:831); (e.g., in the syntactic context that English grammatical structure is SVO and Japanese grammatical structure is SOV), and ascertained that a single grammar ruled over the code-switched sentences (Nishimura, 1986:141). In addition, she (1989) analyzed a code-switching device used by English-Japanese bilinguals in sentences which included a Japanese topic marker, "wa" and an English sentence that followed. She claimed that Japanese is a "topic prominent language" whereas English is a "subject prominent language" (Nishimura, 1989:366) and discussed "topic-comment structure", that is to say, the pattern of "NP-wa(Japanese topic marker) + English sentence" in intrasentential code-switching. According to her, in Japanese-English code-switching, topic (NP) tends to be spoken in Japanese and the rest of the sentence tends to be in English. She hypothesized that the bilinguals know the structure of topic-comment and comprehend it separately in the way that topic should be in Japanese, and then comment in English (ibid:376).

Her work is an important contribution to the study of English-Japanese code-switching based on syntax, but studies of a single aspect are not enough to provide an understanding of the system of English-Japanese code-switching. Until now, there has been no study of this language pair from the sociolinguistic perspective, and no micro-level study leads into these two unexplored areas. The present study will challenge this problem, and explore the interactive meaning and role of code-switching in strengthening group solidarity in an English-Japanese speech community.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Nature of Research

The nature of the present study is, in principle, exploratory. It is a case study applying the findings of previous studies on code-switching to a social situation in which English-Japanese bilinguals use both languages. The use of code-switching as a communicative method in the context of language choice behavior in the Japanese-Canadian speech community of Lethbridge will be discussed with reference to typologies of kinds of code-switching. The analysis focuses on how the individual uses code-switching in conversations, and on what that particular aspect of language use means to the people in the community in terms of the social interaction.

Ethnography of speaking

The framework for this study is the ethnography of speaking, a tradition in anthropological description that was articulated initially by Dell Hymes in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Hickerson, 1980:85). Its antecedents are in a number of common issues raised in linguistics: sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and anthropological linguistics (Hymes, 1964:1-2); but it is most closely related to sociolinguistics and anthropology (ibid:5). Sociolinguistics tended to separate the study of linguistic structure from the study of meaning; and focused on "the language problem of developing nations," and "of education and social relations in highly urbanized societies" (Hymes, 1971:48), while social anthropology focused on cognitive structures (ibid:50). In the traditional practice of ethnography, the dynamics of various kinds of communication within a local community was the main observational focus of anthropologists, and the members of such a community were the main data sources in their research (Hymes, 1964:12). Sociolinguistics and ethnography, then, find common ground and are complementarity in the issues raised in the study of semantics. Linguistics, focusing on formal syntactic structures, was limited in its explanations of the social meaning of language. Gumperz (1986) mentioned that "there seems to be almost no correlation between the linguistic distinctness of relevant variables and the social information they carry" (p.14). The formalisms of linguistics were surely not enough to deal with semantics of social meaning in a community, and particularly not able to deal with the issue of boundaries around or within a community of language users. Addressing these and related problems, Hymes (1971) called for a framework for description of language use within an ethnographically-defined community that would "[help] to create an adequate general framework for the discovery and statement of rules of speaking" (Hymes, 1971:66).

Ethnography is first of all description. Salient descriptive aspects of "speaking" are "implementation and variation" (Hymes, 1971:51); Hymes thought that ethnography of speaking was a kind of description which could lead to a theory, "a theory of speech as a system of cultural behavior (ibid:51). It is a study "directed toward the formulation of descriptive theories of speaking as a cultural system or as part of cultural systems" (Bauman and Sherzer, 1989:6); and aims at "complete discovery of the sphere of rule-governed creativity with respect to language, and to characterize the abilities of persons in this regard" (Hymes, 1971:54). In other words, the tradition involves ethnographic description of a community, specifically about "the place of language in culture and society, boundaries of the community within which communication is possible, and the boundaries of the situations within which communication occurs" (Hymes, 1964:3). It has had a common orientation with linguistics, in that its method was rule-oriented analysis of spoken sentences; and in the common cause with linguistics, it analyzed utterances as speech acts, in order to specify relationships between language use and social situations (Hymes, 1971:54).

As for research procedures and methodology in the ethnography of speaking, there are elements from the three traditions, ethnography, sociolinguistics, and anthropology. What ethnography of speaking deals with is "the description of communicative patterns in a particular speech community" (Lindenfeld, 1975:128); and so the first order of description is to observe a speech community in terms of people's ways of using language. These patterns of language use lead to an attempt to interpret people's language behavior. A second order of description is to state observed patterns in terms of distinct elements, or components: "scene (situation), topics, characteristics of participants of a conversation, settings, the tone or mood (key), ends in view; the form and topics of the discourse as it unfolds (act-sequence), genre, the instrumentalities available in terms of channels, norms of interaction and norms of interpretation" (Hymes, 1971:66). Lastly, the observations are synthesized in descriptions of "interactive behaviors" of people; how they use those elements mentioned above to communicate, and how they function (Lindenfeld, 1975:128). Anthropological field methods, involving the use of informants, interviews, and participant observation are used in the ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1964:8).

At present, Joel Sherzer is probably the best known scholar in ethnography of speaking. His contribution to this field was not only that he reorganized methodology (Sherzer and Darnell, 1986), but also that he suggested some shortcomings which this school needed to address. According to Bauman and Sherzer (1975), the narrow focus on "empirical particularities and peculiarities" (quoted in Sherzer, 1977:49) and the impossibility of cross-cultural comparison are problems which require further studies.

Most studies of ethnography of speaking have been rather narrowly focused on a single society with a single language. The pattern of language use at a special occasion, regarding rites and ceremonies, was favored by many researchers (Sherzer, 1977:50). There have been numerous studies of a single society and its language, but comparison between the monographs is very difficult because each language and society was studied by a different researcher who focused on different aspects. (ibid:47). Sherzer expressed his concern that "Until and unless precise cross-cultural comparison and typology is possible, the ethnography of speaking will be restricted to empirical data collecting with increasingly limited returns (Sherzer, 1977:47).

Scholars who did their fieldwork in multilingual societies in the descriptive tradition of the ethnography of speaking, and who dealt with language choice, were Basso (1970), who worked on Western Apache culture; Philips (1983), who studied the transmission of verbal messages among the school children on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation; and Jackson (1989), who conducted research on the language identity of the Colombian Vaupes Indians. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Blom and Gumperz's (1986) and Woolard's (1989) works are the only prominent studies focusing on code-switching.

This study for the most part follows the research guidelines established in the ethnography of speaking, in that the initial focus is upon the subject and the setting. As a general introduction to the issues, background information about the participants and about the place where I did my fieldwork will be provided. Then patterns of code-switching will be described from a linguistic structural point of view. The sociolinguistic point of view relates the linguistic structural elements to the setting and participants. Terms and definitions provided by the components of language use in the ethnography of speaking are used to relate those two orders of description. The components required to describe code-switching are "speech situation," "participant," "topic," and "norms of interaction" (Hymes, 1971:66). The interactional context for language use is described at this level. The last order of description, combining the first two orders of description, see a shift in focus to discuss patterns of code-switching. Code-switching will be described first at the individual level and then at the generational level: the question is how differently each generation uses code-switching, and then how different the speech patterns involved in code-switching are when each generation communicates with another generation. No rules are posited, but findings are expressed in terms of general patterns. To conclude this study, the social role of code-switching in the community will be discussed.

Speech Community

The concept of speech community is fundamental to the ethnography of speaking. The term has been defined by some prominent linguists, and the fact that the content of definitions are different is problematic. Hymes (1986) defined it as "a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety" (p.54).

Saville-Troike (1982), unlike Hymes, took a viewpoint not of focus on the sharing of a language, but rather one stressing the individual's retention of multiple speech competencies, and thus participation in more than one speech community. She discussed this concept with the example of a university student who belongs to a dormitory, enrolled in a faculty, and who becomes a club member (cited in Fasold, 1990:41). She described how each of these places has its own rules of speaking, and she characterized them as separate speech communities. She also emphasized that "each speech community might have at least some distinguishing communication rules," by which she meant that "some of these speech communities would be different from others by the addition of special rules of speaking" such as "particular slang terms or a specific greeting behavior" (ibid:42). She emphasized that it was not necessary for an individual to belong to only one speech community; he could belong to multiple speech communities at the same time. In Saville-Troike's interpretation of speech community, "people alter their norms for speech behavior to conform to the appropriate speech community, by adding, subtracting, and substituting rules of communicative behavior" (ibid:42).

Gumperz's viewpoint contained both positions of the aforementioned two scholars. Supporting the idea of

Saville-Troike, he defined speech community as a community in which "speakers share knowledge of the communicative constraints and options governing a significant number of social situations" (Gumperz, 1986:16). On the other hand, he acknowledged the complexity of this issue, and remarked in more detail:

> [M]embers of the same speech community need not all speak the same language nor use the same linguistic forms on similar occasions. All that is required is that there be at least one language in common and that rules governing basic communicative strategies be shared so that speakers can decode the social meanings carried by alternative modes of communication (Gumperz, 1986:16)

In the present study, I define speech community following Gumperz. Speech community can be seen as a social framework of the gathering of people who speak a common language, but fluency in that specific language is not an indispensable condition required for membership. Those who cannot speak the language can be admitted as the constituent members of the community as long as they know the rules of the community's communicative strategies, cultural values associated with the community, and the social implications accompanied by the communication through the language. In the case of immigrant or minority groups, it is most likely those later generations, born and raised in the "host" community, do not have the same level of language competency, but may obtain the right of membership. Such members are required to share some social activities in which there is communicative exchange in some way that refers to the language, and thus to strengthen the social tie between the members. In other words, membership in a speech community may be on the basis of identification with a language code, or a community that is identified by that code; the basis for identification may be ideological, or more deeply personal than ideology.

Some studies have considered the relationship between language and identity. Butorac (1977) studied language choice in the Berger Commission Inquiry Testimony, and found that the ethnic language was the strongest factor in creating solidarity among the members. Edwards and Chisholm (1987) remarked that "although language is not a necessary concomitant of group continuity, it is undoubtedly true that possession and use of an original group language promotes solidarity" (p. 395). In fact, the study by Giles et al. (1976) indicated that members of an ethnic group felt closer to those who could speak the ethnic language, rather than to those with whom they shared a common background. Language can be an important symbol of ethnic identification. It "is the vehicle for a world view that makes the group different from all others", and is "one of the primary defining characteristics of ethnic identity (Ross, 1979:3).

Subjects

The subjects of my research are the bilingual Japanese-Canadians living in the Lethbridge area of southern Alberta. They are Shin-Issei (those who immigrated after World War Two) and Nisei (the second generation born in Canada). Their ages range from 30 to over 60. Although I met Issei (the first generation) who were in their 80's or older, they were excluded from the study, not by choice but by evidence provided by data, because they did not use any English, at least in my presence. I also found there was no deterioration in their use of Japanese and their use of body language, such as bowing. It was a surprising fact that even after such a long period of time - more than half a century - when they speak, their Japanese and the body postures typically associated with Japanese, have not altered.

The Shin-Issei and Nisei subjects vary in both their Japanese and English language abilities, apparently depending upon how much they have been exposed within the various speech communities of southern Alberta, to either one of the two languages, one of which is usually a second language to them; or upon how much an individual has felt the necessity of using the language that they have acquired as a second language. For Shin-Issei people, Japanese is the first language and English is the second. Most subjects who belong to this category are the housewives who married Nisei men. Under the circumstances, they use some English in the family to talk to their husbands, the amount apparently depending on the husbands' proficiency in Japanese; and they speak relatively more English with their children. As for Nisei subjects, some of them are the husbands of Shin-Issei wives, and some are married to Nisei or someone from other ethnic groups. Some consistently use Japanese with their Japanese wives at home; and some have a good command of that language, having grown up within a family in which the parents promoted them speaking of Japanese at home. According to one Issei woman, variation in Nisei's Japanese retention is due largely to the experience of World War Two. Fearing stigma from members of other ethnic groups, many Japanese tried to be invisible and to avoid the use of Japanese in public as much as possible: it goes without saying that using Japanese was a clear identification of an enemy alien to some of the other local residents. Because of the individual differences in background and circumstance in the second-language learning process, the degree of bilingualism amongst Nisei varies from the perfect bilingual, those who can use the two languages at the same level of fluency, to those who feel more comfortable in one or the other language.

Definition of Bilingual in the Present Study

With clear reference to the definition of the speech community in this study, I will operationally define a bilingual following the ideas of Macnamara (1967) and Hornby (1977) which were introduced in Chapter 2. A bilingual is, in this study, an individual who has at least minimum skill in one of the four language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing, of two languages, and who is able to use them for communication.

Places In Which Data Were Collected

The data were collected at four places in the city of Lethbridge during a five-day stay there in November, 1991. The first site was the Buddhist Conference which was held in a downtown hotel for three days in early November. The conference is held annually sometime in the fall. People who belong to Buddhist Churches in the area gather and discuss an issue which is focused upon each year. That year's theme was "Jodo-shinshu and the environment," and two reverends were invited as guest speakers from the United States. Two hundred fifteen people registered at the conference. Fifty of them were either Shin-Issei or Issei, one hundred were Nisei who could speak both Japanese and English, and sixty five were either Nisei or Sansei (the third generation) who could speak only English. These conference participants were not only from Lethbridge and neighboring towns such as Raymond, Taber, Coaldale, and Picture Butte, but also from Calgary, Edmonton, and Winnipeg.

The second place for participant observation and data collection was a Japanese-Canadian couple's residence in Raymond where I stayed for five days. The husband "F" is Nisei, and was born and raised in Canada; the wife, "Y", is Shin-Issei, who immigrated to Canada to marry "F" in the late 1960s. Their conversation was recorded at the dining table during meals.

The third place was a Japanese dance class which was held at a community hall in Lethbridge Community College. The dance students' conversation was recorded during one visit, which was about two hours long. There were five students; four of them were Canadian-born Nisei, ranging in age from the mid-fifties to late sixties. Three of them used Japanese most of the time, without any awkwardness either for the instructor, who was Shin-Issei, or for their classmates. One did use English almost all the time, especially when she appeared to feel the necessity to make sure of the content of instruction by asking classmates. I found out later that she could speak Japanese, and in fact she spoke to me in Japanese. I assume that she was probably self-conscious about her own Japanese language ability, and may have had the idea that her Japanese was inferior to that of the others. The last student was Sansei, and was in her 20's. She could not speak much Japanese although she seemed to understand when spoken to in Japanese.

The last place was a meeting of Tonari-gumi, a senior citizen's club which holds meetings once a week at one of the Buddhist churches in Lethbridge. There were about 60 people gathered for bingo. Half the members were Nisei and the other half were either Issei (very few) and Shin-Issei. A person who read the numbers announced them in both Japanese and English. A tape recorder was set on the table for the entire length of time of the game; and also during the snack time, when people chatted with friends over tea and snacks after the game. During most of that time there were five people who sat around me at the bingo table, all Nisei.

These four different situations are representative of different types of interaction, among different groups of people, in different settings. Code-switching patterns were diverse in this variety of conversational arenas, and this diversity provided for the identification of a range of factors that seemed to trigger code-switching on the characteristics of the interlocutors and on topics of conversations. Though the focus in this study is specifically upon code-switching, this range of observations of language use allowed for a glimpse of the nature and range of communication networks in the Japanese language speech community in the city of Lethbridge.

Qualification of Lethbridge as English-Japanese Speech Community

Now let us see if this Japanese-Canadian group possesses the characteristics of a speech community according to the definition I made in the earlier part of this chapter. The language used in the activities I observed are for the most part divisible into three categories of code-use: English only, a mix of English and Japanese, and Japanese only. Each place where I collected data has its own atmosphere and its own set of interactive and social norms, which are interpretable only by its members. The choice of code appears to depend primarily on the type of group; i.e., the characteristics of the people who belong to it, and how fluent they are in the two languages. The social norm is, by and large, the creation by the participants of each institution or social gathering; and their language ability and the style of the total communications protocols between the members are generally different from group to group. To study people's language use in different social settings, with different types of participants who demonstrate different degrees of bilingualism, makes it possible to get a more holistic idea of the totality of the patterns of language use of the community.

With all of those variations of participants and the setting in mind, I observed people's language choice at the conference, karaoke clubs, a Japanese dance club, a Buddhist church, the Tonari-gumi, and at other interactive occasions at restaurants and in individual homes. Generally speaking, Japanese is a common language among the Japanese and Japanese-Canadians in the Lethbridge area. At most places I visited, it seemed that Japanese was the major language used. However, each place has a slightly different style of language use. For example, at the dance club people spoke Japanese most of the time; but at karaoke, English was the main language; and at Tonari-gumi, Japanese and English were mixed. Even the same individual has a different style of speaking in terms of the frequency of mixing the two languages, depending on the situation. The proportion of Japanese in conversation increases or decreases according to the environment of the conversation.

How that conversational environment is construed is crucial to the study of language use. The sequential elements of conversational setting are "a change in setting, topic of conversation or participants, the speaker's perception of the ongoing activity changes" (Genishi, 1981:133) and any other "social parameters that constitute a social situation" (Trumper, 1984:35). In generally similar terms of description, Blom and Gumperz (1986) defined the code-switching triggered by these extralinguistic factors as situational code-switching, which was described in Chapter 2.

A bilingual's language choice behavior, as it accommodates to the setting, to the participants, to the topic, and to other social elements, implies that a bilingual person must account for the nature of the social setting in which he participates, his role within the particular institution or group, his relationship with the other members, and the "right" way to interact with them. An individual who demonstrates an understanding of all of the processes involved in selecting the right code in the right setting with the right interlocutor demonstrates the qualifications of the membership in the institution; and, in a global sense, membership in the society.

It seemed that people in the Japanese-Canadian community in Lethbridge were well aware of what language was to be used, and how it should be used, and with whom, and when, as they dealt with other members of that community. People know, consciously or unconsciously, the rules of communication which regulate patterns of language choice considered to be appropriate in the community. Each individual has his own repertoire of language choice patterns, selects the appropriate one for the setting, and uses it efficiently to socialize with people sharing the same culture. Judging from the characteristics discussed above, there is a Japanese-Canadian community in Lethbridge which meets the qualification for definition as a speech community; and there are norms for the interpretation of the social meaning of language code choice, and code-switching within that community.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected by three methods: 1) auto-taped recording of people's conversation, 2) participant observation, and 3) casual interviews.

Recording naturally-occurring conversation was the main data collection strategy of this research project. In order to analyze instances of code-switching with reference to the specific research objectives of this project, it was necessary to have as much information as possible about content, context, and the background of the conversation in which it occurred; and tape recording allows a researcher to have access to a more comprehensive record of the context than would note-taking. The ideal data for this kind of analysis is so-called "natural conversation", because it is not influenced by alien factors such as the participation of an outsider. That would involve covert recording, which is of course unethical. Written permission to record conversation was obtained from each individual involved, with special attention paid to obtaining such permission when the recording involved a setting that might be considered to be personal. Consent for recording was obtained only after ensuring that each participant understood the nature of my research, and understood that anonymity of all participants would be safeguarded. The term code-switching and the superficial context of the research-studying how Japanese-Canadian bilinguals use two languages, in what situation and to whom - was explained to the participants. Because all participants knew before they spoke that their conversation would be recorded, the conversations initially may have tended to be unnatural. However, generally speaking there was little tension or nervousness among participants after a brief period - the tape recorder tends to be forgotten after a while - and the conversations were natural. Because public speech is of a different nature, and because it is not unusual to tape-record public events for a variety of purposes, when I recorded in a public place such as a formal session at a conference, no such written permission was obtained. The "natural" setting of the meeting allowed for the recording of speech that is "natural" to that public domain.

Many studies of code-switching include only short dialogues, or the utterance in which the switch occurred. Therefore, an important procedural characteristic of preliminary data analysis in the present study was that much longer speech streams were accounted for, and a larger social context was accounted for. If a description of code-switching goes beyond syntactic and grammatical consideration to focus on social meaning, the focus cannot be on just the utterance in which the code-switching occurred. The questions cannot be limited to noting when the shift occurred, and what the people were talking about before it occurred. A key question is whether or not there were any signs to indicate the incipient occurrence of code-switching. The key requirement for analysis of the functions and meanings of code-switching is to account for context, so the recorded speech was reviewed and all instances of code-switching were transcribed. The context of conversational discourse, the topic, and the interlocutors were described for each instance.

The transcribed code-switching data were first structurally analyzed and categorized according to typology (intrasentential or intersentential) and grammatical constraints (structural constraints on word or phrase types; e.g., numbers). (The instances of code-switching were translated between languages.) Then the discourse context and social context were examined to posit a range of possible social meanings for the switching. Each category and meaning are presented with reference to two or three examples, and the appendix lists a more comprehensive set of examples. The focus then was moved to the question of the use of code-switching in generation-to-generation communication, and the total number of each type of code-switching by one generation to the other were compared.

In field notes, I recorded a number of other factors that related specifically to participants and to settings, information which was necessary in order to discuss social meaning and social context. Casual interviews were also conducted throughout the period of data collection in order to assess the participants' consciousness of language choice. I observed two primary cautions in interview: in interview settings, people often become nervous, and sometimes too serious, about giving considered and reasonable answers to the questions. This concern may lead them to express something other than what they in fact have in mind. In order to avoid this situation, subjects were interviewed during casual conversation. In order to get more nearly natural responses, I did not formally arrange these interviews nor did I have a formal set of questions for the participants. The second point of caution was in the way the questions were posed. To prevent participants from focussing so intently on the content of questions, "what" and "how" type of questions were avoided as much as possible. In most cases, the questions were restricted to the categorical (Yes-No) questions about language behavior, and these did not seem to inspire much tension.

The focus in analysis was upon the examples; the explanatory context referred to the other data.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

In this chapter the results of the research are presented. The typology of code-switching, and the grammatical constraints and categories of words which tend to trigger code-switching, are described in the first section. Categorization of bilinguals is also considered here. Next, English-Japanese code-switching examples are reported with their social context, and the interactive meanings of code-switching found in these pairs are analyzed. The findings of these first two sections are compared with the conclusions of previous research on code-switching introduced in Chapter 2. Lastly, the language choice behavior of the Lethbridge Japanese-Canadians speech community is examined, both at the individual and community level. On this basis, the functional and social meaning of code-switching for the community at Lethbridge is considered.

Part I

TYPOLOGY OF CODE-SWITCHING AND BILINGUALS

Typology of code-switching

Two kinds of code-switching, intersentential and intrasentential, have been identified (e.g., Berk-Seligson, 1986; Clyne, 1987; Jacobson, 1977; Joshi, 1985; Lipski, 1985; Scotton, 1989; Nishimura, 1986). Examples of each type are examined below, and the applicability of past findings to the case of English-Japanese code-switching is discussed.

Intrasentential code-switching

The objectives of examining intrasentential code-switching are (1) to discover grammatical constraints; in other words, to find where code-switching occurs in a sentence; (2) to corroborate the regulation of code-switched sentences, or to see whether there is a so-called "code-switching grammar" (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981); and (3) to categorize the vocabulary which tends to be intra-sententially code-switched.

To summarize briefly Japanese grammatical structure first, Japanese has a Subject-Object-Verb structure whereas English has a Subject-Verb-Object structure. In Japanese, the Subject is often omitted, as both speaker and listener can infer it from the conversational context. With such different grammatical structures, it is interesting to see if and how English and Japanese can be merged into a single sentence; or if a code-switched sentence incorporating two grammatical elements is comprehensible.

Grammatical Constraints

The intrasentential examples extracted from my data generally concur with the findings of Nishimura (1982, 1986). Grammatically, there is no major constraint recognized in many examples. Most of them, including those in the appendix, have grammatical coordination between English and Japanese. The meaning of the sentence is not violated. As Nishimura (1982, 1986) found, English-Japanese code-switching occurs where the grammatical elements of the two languages combine with a shared element although positional equivalents of grammatical elements are opposite, and the code-switched sentence is based on a single grammar. Intrasentential code-switching occurs at the word and phrase level. The grammar is shifted from

Japanese to English and vice versa at the appropriate place; for instance, after a phrase as in the example below.

[1] Once every three weeks ni-ne, all kawa wo ikkai kurai
taberuno. [Nisei]
(Once every three weeks, I eat all skins [of anorange]
about once.)

In this example, the basic grammar is Japanese, and an English word and a phrase are used at the place where the shared elements with Japanese language are matched. After the English phrase, "Once every three weeks", the Japanese particles "ni" and "ne" are attached to it. "Ni" indicates time, direction, cause, et cetera; and "ne" is like the English "You know". The existence of Japanese particles in this sentence strengthens the Japanese grammatical rule which is dominant. The main clause following the particles is also based on Japanese grammar. "All kawa" which means "all skins" occurs in the same word order both in Japanese and English; therefore, the remainder of the sentence is grammatically and semantically correct in Japanese.

[2] I think apple cider vinegar tottemo karada ni ii kara
honey ireta no. [Nisei]
(I think apple cider vinegar is very good for the
health so I put honey [in the dish].)

Example [2] is similar to [1]. It shows a smooth combining of English and Japanese grammars. The first part of the sentence is based on English word order, whereas the latter is Japanese:

"I think apple cider vinegar/ [English] a)
(apple cider vinegar) tottemo karada ni b)
ii kara honey ireta-no." [Japanese]

Both a) and b) share the noun, apple cider vinegar, which separates the grammatical elements before and after. The sentence structure in this example is Japanese. "I think" can be put in brackets because it is not semantically important. Following are similar examples.

[3] Buddhist wa ichiji mukashi, sakera reru koto ga atta
kedo, saikin wa I think sansei no hou ga mezameta-ne.
(Buddhists were excluded before, but recently, I think
Sansei are enlightened [on their ancestral culture].)
[Shin-Issei]

As in the previous example, "I think" is inserted in a Japanese sentence. There is no semantic or grammatical violation in it. The English phrase fit in nicely at the right place in a sentence where code-switching is possible.

[4] Anmari shinpai shite yaru to ah-, you know, amaete
itsumademo waruku narukara. [Shin-Issei]
(If you worry so much, ah-, you know, [your stomach]
just gets worse.)

"You know" is an independent phrase which functions to fill in the gap between the first phrase and the second. The preceding "ah-" might be an indication of the speaker searching for a suitable word or thinking what she should say. According to Nishimura (1986:135), "you know" is a sentence-final particle which does not convey a particular meaning, but is more like an "addition" to the sentence. The whole sentence, therefore, is based on Japanese grammar.

[5] Me one kiri tabenai-no. [Nisei]
(I am the only one who does not eat them.)

Likewise, the basic grammar in this example is Japanese. "Me" is an objective personal pronoun meaning "I". "Kiri" means "only" and "tabenai" is a combined form of the verb "taberu" (eat) and a negative auxiliary verb "nai" (not). "No" is a sentence-final particle meaning "I'm telling you". In Japanese, this sentence would read: "Watashi hitori kiri tabenai-no". The word order "Watashi hitori" and "Me one" correspond to each other, although the latter is not grammatically correct English. (It should be "I am the only one" as is indicated in the translation). Thus, example [5] is based entirely on Japanese grammar with English words also put into Japanese word order.

[6] Six months no aida ni-ne, chotto wrong way ni ugoitara ne, back out again. [Nisei]
(Within six months, if you move your head the wrong way, stiffness backs out again.)

[7] Some difference ga nai to-ne, sore ga-ne, dou naru? [Nisei]
(There has to be some difference. What is it going to be?)

[8] Honey to sugar wa same thing to iu desho? [Nisei]
(They say honey and sugar are the same thing.)

[9] B-san de ikuto, one girl is a lab technician-ne.
(As for B family, one girl is a lab technician.)[Shin-Issei]

In examples [6], [7], and [8], nouns are switched into English in Japanese sentences without semantical and grammatical major constraints. Each noun in each of those sentences follows the Japanese word order. The latter part of sentence [6] is switched into English at the verb, which is rare in the data collected. Nouns are the most common elements to be alternated. Example [9] has its code switched after the conditional phrase, and the latter apodosis phrase is in English with a Japanese final particle. All examples from [6] to [9] do not have grammatical anomalies.

The other examples of intrasentential code-switching are 4, 19, and 20, in the appendix, and setting [65], in the body of this thesis.

Thus in intrasentential code-switching, the alternation of the code takes place where the grammatical elements of two languages are shared in a single sentence. Although there are sometimes grammatical constraints in word order, these are few in number. The majority of intrasentential code-switching occurs where there is no violation of grammatical rules. If a broad view is taken of this characteristic, it should be apparent that there is a "code-switching grammar"; and the code-switched sentence structure is either one of the two languages.

Semantic Domains and Parts of Speech

The semantic domains of words and parts of speech are factors which cause code-switching, and it is almost always of the intrasentential kind. Whether the vocabularies of two languages are stored separately in the brain (Hakuta, 1986:95-96), or in one place as one meaning set, the expression of a concept is subtly different (Grosjean, 1982: 240-241). Therefore, it would not be surprising if bilinguals favor one language for certain meanings, items, and events. Word choice is also strongly affected by cultural factors. The selection of words is influenced by the bilinguals' cultural environment in which they grew up, and by the validity and frequency of the usage of words within the society. Bilinguals can usually identify and correlate the meanings of words in one language with those in the other. However, with elements dealing with culture, such as cultural events or food, many bilinguals are likely to employ terms in the language of the relevant culture, simply because they cannot find the proper terms in the other language.

Joshua Fishman (1965) studied the relationship between domains of a language and language choice of speakers in a multilingual society. The concept of domains that he used was to "designate the major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings in terms of institutional contexts or socio-ecological co-occurrences"(p.73). He noted that certain topics were easier to handle in one language than the other; and that it was possible to ascertain the social values, and gain an insight into the cultural society by identifying what types of domains were used in the speech community. He remarked that:

> "Domains... help us understand that language choice and topic... are related to widespread sociocultural norms and expectations. ... if many individuals (or subgroups) tend to handle topic x in language X, this may well be because this topic pertains to a domain in which that language is 'dominant' for their society or for their sub-group as a whole" (ibid:73).

a) Number

Numbers tend to be English in English-Japanese code-switching with a Japanese grammatical structure. Other numerical domains such as time, month, and year are expressed in English as well. For example,

[10] Last year, three or four box kouta kara-ne. [Nisei]
(I bought three or four boxes [of apples].)

[11] One or two apple motte ne. [Nisei]
(I had one or two apples.)

[12] Imamade-ne, three ka four day ni kaetteru. [Nisei]
(People usually stay [in hospital] and leave after three or four days.)

[13] One spoonful tsukeru-no. [Nisei]

([I] put one spoonful [of honey on bread].)

[14] Kore ten pounds sugar kurai ireta-yo. [Nisei]
(About ten pounds of sugar is contained [in this dish].)

[15] Sono chiimu ni six foot seven no senshu ga ita-no. [Nisei]
(There was a player on that team whose height was six foot seven.)

All of these examples are of counters - counters of goods, days, amount and length. In Japanese, nouns do not have a plural form. Instead, particular counters are used according to the objects to which they refer. The number and counter appear just before the nouns, thus: number + counter + a single noun form. For instance, "san-ko no ringo" (three apples; san = three, ko = counter, no = a postpositional word, ringo = apple). Examples [10] and [11] show Japanese counters of goods using English numbers, and all sentences are based on Japanese structure. The phrase "three or four box" follows Japanese grammar since the plural suffix "es" is omitted in the noun. The same is true in example [11]. The plural suffix "s" is omitted at the end of the word "apple," and this signifies that it follows Japanese grammar. In example [12] the plural "s" is omitted in counting days. Examples [13] and [14] show the measurement of amount. Although [14] has a pluralizer "s" at the end of the word "pound", the phrase "ten pounds sugar" would be "ten pounds of sugar" in English. Example [15] is an instance of measurement. Here, the unit of length "foot" is in the single form. Although the phrase "six foot seven" is correct English, it is understood as meaning "six feet seven inches". Other examples with reference to numbers are 4, 14 and 25 in the appendix, and example [50] in the body of thesis.

b) Time/Days

Words relating to time and days tend to be referred to in English when one is speaking in Japanese.

[16] Sometime, every time jya nakute, sometime ne. [Nisei]
(Sometime, not every time, [your stomach gets better].)

[17] How many months atta ka-ne? [Nisei]
(How many months did I have [apples]?)

[18] Dakara kaette mo kondo wa next day store ni itte kara mo tsukutta-no.
(I came back home and on the next day, I went to a store [to get ingredients] and made it.)

[19] Last year, three or four box koutakara-ne. [Nisei]
(I bought three or four boxes of apples.)

[20] Kore-ne, one day kurai oitara-ne, mada aji ga you shimi komu kedo-ne, chotto honey ireruto-ne, oishii yo. [Nisei]
(If you leave the onion dish for a day, then it becomes more tasty. If you put a bit of honey in it, it's good.)

[21] Acchi kara kocchi e kaette kuru toki, mou half a day, mou day to ban ga kurutte kuru kara hontou ni tsukareruno-ne. [Nisei]
(You get so tired when you come back [from Japan to Canada] since almost half a day and an evening is different [between the two countries].)

[22] Kono basuketto yatta tokini wa, Taber kara otoko ga hitori kite otte, everyday ano-, tsuuyaku shini kite otta-ne. [Nisei]
(When the basketball tournament was held, everyday, there was a guy from Taber who worked as an interpreter.)

[23] Me wa kono botoru three day de taberu-yo. [Nisei]
(I finish eating the onions in this bottle within three days.)

Besides these, the days of the week and the term "year" tend to be expressed in English. The underlined words were pronounced in English by the speakers (Nisei), which may reveal a preference for English in this category.

These eight intrasentential code-switching examples are based on Japanese grammar and do not violate its grammatical rule. The language is switched at the point where grammatical elements and functions are shared by the two languages.

The other examples are 5, 17 and 21 in the appendix and example [58], in the body of thesis.

c) Adjectives

Adjectives, especially simple yet expressive terms such as "wonderful" and "delicious," are likely to be used in English.

[24] More high ne. Ano- tekunikku-ga. [Shin-Issei]
(I mean the level of technique is higher.)

[25] Nijuu nen nante maa easy desho. [Shin-Issei]
(I realize (that living in Canada for) twenty years is rather easy.)

Scotton (1987) found that adjectives were the fourth most frequent domain that was code-switched. In this study the adjectives were mostly those which refer to the state of things such as "good" or "bad", or which are complimentary. They are easily switched into English within a sentence. For these English-Japanese bilinguals, the insertion of an English adjective in a Japanese sentence may add emphasis. If this pattern is found to be a common phenomenon in code-switching research, it is possible that a bilingual's perception of the nature of language use is a factor in code alternation.

d) Conjunction

Conjunctions tend to be expressed in English, such as in the following examples:

[26] Appru ga ne, one or two apple motte-ne. (pause) Anyway, nani mo hoka ni tabenai. [Nisei]
(I had one or two apples. Anyway, I do not eat anything
else.)

[27] Sono chimu ni six foot seven no senshu ga ita-no. But rebound wa me ga ichiban yoku tottane. [Nisei]
(In that team, there was a player whose height was six feet seven. But I took the rebound most of the time.)

[28] Nihonjin no namae de-ne, S. S, iinikui no-ne. Sukoshi yoku natta? Because, ano, karugari kara ne, S. [Shin-Issei]
(Japanese name, S. S, it's difficult to pronounce. Sounds a little bit better? Because, well, from Calgary, S.)

These three conjunctions appeared frequently in conversation by Nisei, but were rarely used by Shin-Issei. English conjunctions used in code-switching appeared only in Japanese sentences. English conjunctions do not break the grammatical structure of a language, nor are they related rigidly to the other elements of the sentence, so it may be easier for English conjunctions to be incorporated into Japanese sentences. The same applies to Japanese conjunctions switched in English sentences. There was, however, one instance of a Japanese code-switching conjunction, followed by an English sentence.

[29] Koredemo oishii yo. Demo, I like it. [Nisei]
(Even this tastes good. I like it.)

This example differs from the previous three examples in that a Japanese sentence precedes the Japanese conjunction. If it followed the pattern of the other examples, the preceding sentence should have been English. It seems that the preceding Japanese sentence left the conjunction Japanese, and the code has been shifted to English afterwards.

Other examples of code-switching at conjunctions are 14 and 20 in the appendix.

e) *Food*

Food is closely linked to culture, and so is usually referred to in the language of its culture as it is extraneous in the other culture in which a different language is spoken. Yet, sometimes, the original expression is changed to fit the phonetics of the other language. For example, the English pronunciation of hamburger will be switched to "hanba-ga-" in a Japanese sentence.

[30] I had a steak last night. Sute-ki wa amari tabenai none.
(I do not eat steaks much.) [Nisei]

In this example, the same food is pronounced differently, the former in English and the latter in Japanese. The western dish, steak, is already very familiar to the Japanese, and is widely served at restaurants all over Japan. It is pronounced "sute-ki," extending the sound of "te," which makes it sound different from the English counterpart. The speaker of the above example is a Nisei woman who is quite good in both languages. This example is rather rare in that many bilingual Nisei usually use the English pronunciation for western food that they commonly eat, even though they know the Japanese pronunciation. This practice may be related to the perceived cultural domain of the food.

The following example was recorded at a senior citizen's club, called Tonari-gumi, held at a Buddhist church in Lethbridge. After playing bingo, people gather for refreshments. The participants in the following conversation are Nisei.

[31] Woman 3: Oh! Very good. (Eating pickles.) [Nisei]

Woman 2: Tsukemomo atta-yo.
(There were some pickles.) [Nisei]
Woman 3: Yeah, U-! (Impressed) Oishii-!
(Delicious) [Nisei]

They were eating Japanese pickles, which are quite different from western style pickles. All kinds of pickles (preserved vegetables) are "tsukemono" in Japanese, and are traditionally included as a side dish with most meals. The typical traditional Japanese meal includes rice, miso-soup, main dish (fish), sunomono (salad), and tsukemono. In an area in which many people of Japanese descent live, tsukemono is probably still sometimes served with other dishes at home. It is a food term which has remained in another cultural and language environment, and is frequently used in the family dining setting.

[32] I'll have some gohan tonight. [Nisei]
(I'll have some rice tonight.)

This is an another example of the Japanese food domain used in an English sentence. Gohan means rice in English, but it seems that term gohan is generally used in many Japanese-Canadian households. In Japanese, it does not only mean rice, but also meals in general.

In the previous three examples, code-switching occurred based on Japanese food domains. English counterparts also trigger code alternation while one is speaking in Japanese. For example,

[33] Honey to apple cider vinegar ne, karada ni tottemo ii no-ne.
[Nisei]
(Honey and apple cider vinegar are very good for health.)

[34] Seasoning pepper mo dono grocery store demo kaeru-yo.
[Nisei]
(You can get seasoning pepper at any grocery store.)

[35] Demo kore wa... ano-, [pause and hesitate] curry powder, ato kuri-mu shichuu no arega sukoshi haitteiru kara. [Shin-Issei]
(But for this dish, I ah... put curry powder and a little bit of cream stew [mix].)

[36] Nanika ireta? Onion to pauda-. [Shin-Issei]
(Did I add anything? Some onions and powder.)

[37] Chicken and salad sandwich tabeta no-ne. [Nisei]
(I had chicken and salad sandwich.)

[38] Dakara Coleslaw wa karada ni ii to omotta kedo, are kara sugar ireta no mitara, hontou ni, ii darou ka-na to omotta-ne. [Nisei]
(I thought coleslaw was good for health, but after I saw it contained a lot of sugar, I wondered if it was really good.)

Canadian dishes and ingredients tend to be pronounced in English within Japanese sentences. Other examples are vegetable oil, milk and salt. Bilinguals, therefore, may separate food domains into two groups and store Japanese and Canadian food-related vocabulary separately, remaining rather conscious of the clear distinction between the two.

As mentioned earlier, Fishman (1965) stated that if many bilinguals use one language for a certain topic, it indicates that the language is dominant for the topic in their society (p.73). He also suggested that bilinguals' language choice behavior may "relate to widespread sociocultural norms and expectations" (p.73). Both Nisei and Shin-Issei use Japanese for Japanese food, whereas they use English for other food items, including ingredients. This usage of language with regard to food appears to be normative, and seems to be accepted as such by the members of the Japanese speech community.

The distribution of food domains in either language provides cardinal information about to what degree each type of food is accepted in the diet of Japanese-Canadians. It reveals what kind of Japanese food is still accepted, and how far it is assimilated into their everyday diet. It can be a barometer of their assimilation of each culture, while revealing the retention of some division of culture from generation to generation. Consequently, language selection in terms of food, in this sense, is strongly related to the cultures of bilinguals in which they grew up; and indicates the bilingual's achieved senses of both cultures.

The retention and widespread use of Japanese food domains reveals the people's attachment to their ethnic food as part of their heritage, and indicates the depth of this cultural trait in the community.

Intersentential Code-switching

Intersentential code-switching is a sentence level language alternation which is different from intrasentential code-switching in terms of grammatical constraints. Since the code shift occurs at the sentence level, there is no violation of grammar. This type of code-switching appears to have different characteristics in terms of the way meaning is interpreted by both speaker and hearer. In intersentential code-switching a speaker may consciously or unconsciously relay a message to a listener. This form of code-switching is thus more revealing of social boundaries among the participants of a conversation.

Scotton (1989) discussed the functions of intersentential code-switching in terms of their strategic meanings by proposing marked choices in speech. According to her, markedness means the condition in which a speaker himself is conscious about some change which occurred in his utterance by changing a language use: in other words, there is a message of "here, something is different" (Scotton, 1989:334-335). However, the notion of markedness, including unmarkedness in intrasentential code-switching, is rather difficult to define, since the distinction between the two is not explicit, but is functioning in an individual's cognitive system, which we cannot observe.

Scotton explained this bilingual's unique way of communication by saying that a speaker and an addressee negotiate whenever they talk; and for that reason, unconsciously choose the code which is "indexical of the social relationships" (Scotton, 1989:334). She further noted that:

> "This theory underlies speakers' ability to assign to specific code choices readings of markedness for a specific exchange. Arising from innate speaker competence must be the knowledge that, for a particular conventionalized exchange in one's community, a certain code choice will index an expected rights and obligations set between participants. This code will be the unmarked choice for that exchange. Other codes will be more or less marked in that exchange, meaning their use will convey a negotiation for something other than the unmarked balance of rights and obligations" (Scotton, 1989:334).

She assumes that unlike intrasentential code-switching, intersentential code-switching is a marked choice which allows more strategic communicative implications. According to Scotton, this type of code-switching reflects the speaker's motivation to negotiate the social distance. By using another language, a speaker attracts the interlocutor's attention to say that he intends to alter the "current balance of rights and obligations" (Scotton, 1989:338).

Viewing the data of the present study from this context, many intersentential code-switching examples have different implications of meaning associated with various settings. Some connote the meanings based on the psychological intention of a speaker, and some are based on social and cultural factors. These sentence-level language alternations tend to be influenced by the background of discourse as well. More detailed description of the social and cultural meanings of intersentential code-switching will be discussed later in part two of this chapter.

Typology of Subjects and Code-Switching -

Coordinate and Compound Bilinguals

A correlation between language fluency and code-switching patterns has been suggested. Poplack (1980) noted that bilinguals who learned one language as a second language in two separate environments (coordinate bilinguals) mostly used intersentential code-switching. On the other hand, intrasentential code-switching was used by those who learned two languages in the same environment (compound bilinguals). In the present study, it would be expected that intersentential code-switching would occur in the speech of Shin-Issei (the new immigrants) and intrasentential code-switching would be observed more frequently among Nisei subjects. The Shin-Issei belong to the coordinate bilingual group, having learned English before or after they immigrated to Canada. The Nisei are compound bilinguals, having been born in Canada; and learned two languages at the same time in the same environment - English at school, work, in social life; and Japanese at home.

The distribution of the numbers of examples of bilingual and code-switching types only partially accords with Poplack's findings. Of 153 code-switching examples, coordinate bilinguals (Shin-Issei) had 10 intrasentential code-switching episodes, whereas compound bilinguals had 48. This pattern reflects Poplack's tendency. However, with intersentential code-switching, the difference was not as marked: coordinate bilinguals used it on 54 occasions and compound bilinguals on 41 occasions.

Table 1. Number of examples of intra- and intersentential code-switching in coordinate and compound bilinguals.

	Intrasentential	*Intersentential*	*Total*
Coordinate	10	54	64
Compound	48	41	89
	58	95	153

Table 2. The preference of code-switching type among participants.

	Preference of code-switching		
	Intrasentential	Intersentential	
Coordinate bilinguals	0	3	3
Compound bilinguals	4	7	11
	4	10	14

Table 2 shows the number of participants who prefer either intra- or intersentential code-switching. These numbers are based on the frequency of either type of code-switching observed for each bilingual, that is whether or not a speaker uses one type of code-switching more often than the other type. Although the number of each type of bilingual participant is not even (3 for coordinate and 11 for compound), the distribution of the numbers indicates that more coordinate bilinguals choose intersentential code-switching, and compound bilinguals choose intersentential code-switching, a result which contrasts with Poplack's (1980) findings.

The above two tables considered together show that coordinate bilinguals are more likely to use intersentential code-switching. Compound bilinguals, on the other hand, use both intrasentential and intersentential code-switching, but only slightly more intrasentential code-switching, unlike Poplack's (1980) study.

Table 1 and 2 can also be considered from a sociological point of view, and patterns identified according to what occasions each type of code-switching occurs and between which speakers. Among coordinate bilinguals (Shin-Issei), intrasentential code-switching mostly occurred when speaking to Nisei. The subjects are women who are married to Nisei husbands; and they sometimes insert a few Japanese words in an English structured sentence or put a Japanese final particle at the end of an English sentence. Since the speech pattern of many Nisei is more likely to be intrasentential, these Shin-Issei subjects may have acquired this way of speaking by being influenced by their husbands. Meanwhile, intersentential code-switching occurs when they associate with not only Nisei but also with Shin-Issei. It goes without saying that most intersentential code-switching happens in the conversation between Shin-Issei and Nisei, but it is also true and surprising that some cases occur during interactions among Shin-Issei as well.

Compound bilinguals use intrasentential code-switching when they interact with both compound and coordinate bilinguals. However, strictly speaking, they tend to use it more when they talk among people who are quite familiar to them; for example, among Nisei with whom they grew up. Many of the data were obtained at a conference and at an individual's residence ("Y", a Shin-Issei wife and her Nisei husband "F"). In both settings, people with whom they interacted were their friends or someone very close to them (such as relatives). Intersentential code-switching was used more often when they dealt with people from outside their social boundary; for instance, someone like me. It was rather clear in the recorded examples that some compound bilinguals tried very hard to speak Japanese in a full sentence to me. If they had difficulty continuing to talk in the code because of their limited vocabulary, they switched from Japanese to English, instead of mixing words of the two languages. Among compound bilinguals, the code choice is strongly influenced by how well they know the interlocutor. Judging from this, intrasentential code-switching is the pattern of speech conducted only among ingroup members.

Alternate interpretations of past studies of code-switching

Past studies of code-switching and the typology of code switching have provided very useful information and an explicit framework for the present study. However, two questions about their interpretation are raised here. One concerns the claim that intrasentential code-switching does not carry interactive meanings. Another is the relationship between the frequency of intrasentential code-switching and the fluency of bilinguals.

The first claim was made by Scotton (1989), who studied the functions of both inter- and intrasentential code-switching. According to Scotton, intrasentential code-switching is unmarked choice in speech with no connotative meanings useful for communication. "Unmarked choice" refers to using the language without any consciousness of an indication of change, stress, or other signs of alternation. According to Scotton, the participants of a conversation know the unmarked choice as part of their communicative competence; but it is "empirically identified" (Scotton, 1987:66). She also stated that unmarked choice is not a code that is chosen; it is naturally and unconsciously selected to "establish the expected rights and obligations balance or to maintain the status quo" (ibid:66). For example, speakers accommodate the language choice on the occasion when an outsider joins the group of people. All participants are aware of a change of the norm, and choose the right code to mend the situation. For the unmarked choice, the code choice will usually not be altered until some other outside factors affect the conversational rights (Scotton, 1987:67).

In the present study, Scotton's hypothesis applies to intrasentential code-switching in some cases, but not others. This difference derives from the two types of intrasentential code-switching identified in this study: one with the word(s) switched within the sentence, and one with the code-switch occurring at the sentence's final particle.

The former kind, including nouns, adjectives, and conjunctions, is the dominant type; and a part of the sentence is only replaced by the counterpart of the other language. However, the intrasentential code-switching at the sentence's final particle seems to carry some connotative messages to the interlocutor, saying "we will continue in this (other) language". By putting a very short particle of the other language at the end of a sentence, the sentence as a whole gains at least some of the atmosphere of the other language. In the examples below, this practice appeared to suggest to an interlocutor that he could continue in the new language if he liked.

[39] Y, F, and I are talking about an onion dish at a dining table at their house. R is the researcher:

R: Kore de itsutsu desu ka? (Does this contain five
[onions]?) [Japanese]
Y: Chiisai no haitte iru kara. (Only contains small ones.)
(To F) Small size, too. Just only one big onion.
[Shin-Issei]
F: Un? [Nisei]
Y: Only one big one, small size desho? (a) [Shin-Issei]
F: Nani o ireta no? (You mean what I add [to the onion
dish]?) [Nisei]

[40] Y and I are surveying the occupations of the Japanese-Canadian residents in the Lethbridge area:

Y: B-san no tokoro wa-ne, hitori wa doctor. Ato ma, nihon no miyoji o kangae nai de.. [Shin-Issei]
(In the B family, one is a medical doctor. The rest...well, without thinking of the last name...)
R: Hai. (Yes.) [Japanese]
Y: B-san de ikuto, one girl is a lab technician-ne. (b) [Shin-Issei]
(With the last name of B, one girl is a lab technician.)
R: Aha-, sou desu-ka. (Oh, is that right.) [Japanese]
Y: Byouin ni hataraite iru-ne. Boy wa nani yatte iruka wakaranai. Mou yonjuu-go kurai-ne. O.K., B no...kyoudai ga... (pause) Ahaha... mou mix up shite... mix up suru wa. Let me see. [Shin-Issei]
(She works at a hospital. I don't know what a boy is doing. He is already about forty-five. O.K., B...the brothers... (pause) Ahaha...I mix up.. I mix up. Let me see.)

In the setting [39], the sentence final particle (a) in Y's line is followed by F's Japanese reply. It was Y's second attempt to ask F the same question; the first was in English, and the second was the same phrase with the Japanese sentence tag particle "desho". Why did she put it at the end of her remark? One possible interpretation is that by adding the Japanese element at the end of the English sentence, she implied to F that he could answer in Japanese. As F did not seem to understand her first remark in English, her second question might have been spoken with her expectation that F could understand her. F followed "desho" with a Japanese sentence.

In setting [40], Y put "ne", the Japanese final particle in the sentence (b); and this very short syllable seems to have the function of indicating to the interlocutor that it is alright to keep to the same code which Y has been using in her dialogue with the speaker. If there had not been the particle at the end of the sentence, a listener would probably have been astonished at the sudden code change to English. Yet, the particle implied that Y still wanted to keep Japanese as the code through the conversation, and the interlocutor continued using Japanese in her reply.

It is doubtful that intrasentential code-switching carries no social or interactive meanings. At least the sentence final particle appears to carry connotative meanings for interaction among bilinguals.

The second question about the frequency of intrasentential code-switching and fluency of bilinguals is addressed to the findings of Poplack (1980). She claimed that intrasentential code-switching is mostly used by completely fluent bilinguals; that is, those whose fluency in two languages is equal. The present study also found that compound bilinguals who are more proficient in both English and Japanese use intrasentential code-switching more than do coordinate bilinguals. However, one phenomenon of language use in my subjects raises doubts that intrasentential code-switching really can be a definitive indication of a high degree of mastery in two languages.

The problem here is that one has to consider how a bilingual attained the two language skills. Although the distinction between "coordinate" and "compound" bilinguals is explicit, it omits the essential point of how the two languages were learned. What is required is not the description of the environment in which bilinguals acquired language skills, but the process of successfully achieving competency in two languages. I suggest that it is the learning process and the social and interactive rules that decide one's language concept and the world views of the cultures in which the languages are spoken. I also consider that these rules and views are indispensable for communication. What is important is that the process of becoming a bilingual - how individuals attained competency in two languages - should be stressed more; because, as many former studies show, the type of code-switching differs according to the diversified processes of learning two languages.

The focal point of this issue depends on how an individual learned the second language (L2). If one learns L2 at the same time as he does his first language (L1) in the same environment, or achieved L2 language skill later and then uses intrasentential code-switching, this pattern might suggest, as other researchers have discussed, that he at least knew the two languages well enough not to violate the rules of language in terms of grammar. From this viewpoint, it is true that the individual needs a high standard in both languages. However, we need to consider the situation, such as that of one of my subjects, in which an individual learned an intrasentential way of speaking when learning L2.

For example, for subject Y, who is a Shin-Issei woman married to a Nisei, intrasentential code-switching seems to have been learned as a way of communication with her husband. It goes without saying that she can speak English; but after spending some time with Y and her husband F, I had the impression that mixing words from two languages is their own style of talking to each other. Especially F, a compound bilingual, uses intrasentential code-switching more often than Y does.

Y did not have much English speaking ability before she came to Canada to marry her husband. Although she had learned English at schools in Japan, it was not enough to use as a communicative tool. Meanwhile, F was born and brought up in Canada with his family using Japanese at home. However, retention of an ethnic language is difficult especially after one reaches school age. The influence of the dominant language used in school and everywhere becomes so enormous after school age, in time the ethnic language becomes nothing but a code used in families; or, if there is a community of the same ethnic people as in Lethbridge, it can be used for socializing only with the other Japanese. According to F, since the time he left home to attend university (four years) and until he married Y, he had not used Japanese.

Y tends to use more intersentential code-switching when speaking to F, whereas F uses intrasentential code-switching. Y's intrasentential code-switching is sometimes evoked by F's, which is based on Japanese grammatical structure. Considering these individuals' language histories, intrasentential code-switching may be like a pidgin language created by them to communicate with each other. There are many more couples like Y and F living in the Lethbridge vicinity, and it is plausible to expect the same language phenomenon will be found among others in the same speech community.

Another factor which appears to trigger intrasentential code-switching among non-fluent bilinguals is language loss. Here, it serves the simple function of replacing unknown, not ever having learned or momentarily forgotten words, with known words from the other language. These exceptions point to the need for further study of the claim that intrasentential code-switching is an indication of a high level of fluency in two languages.

Part II

INTERACTIVE CONNOTATED MEANINGS AND CAUSES OF CODE-SWITCHING

Interpretations from psychological, social, and cultural views

Various investigators have found a social function in intersentential code-switching in which certain things are negotiated between a speaker and an interlocutor (e.g., Scotton, 1989; Heller, 1988a; McClure, 1981; Calsamiglia and Tuson, 1984; Beardsley and Eastman, 1971, and Grosjean, 1982). The analysis of English-Japanese code-switching data obtained in Lethbridge has something in common with these results in terms of construing implied meanings for the strategic usage of two languages. The interactive meanings of code-switching are possible to surmise in various kinds of discourse settings. These are indicated in the examples to follow. For each example, the type of interlocutor and topic of conversation are given. Some factors of discourse which seem to cause code-switching will be examined, focussing on psychological, social, and discourse background, as well as other points of view.

Table 3. Categorization of interactive meanings of and causes of intersentential code-switching

I. Psychological
  - Mending situation
  - Catching attention
  - Emphasis
    - +repetition
    - +will/decision
    - +repair
    - +suggestion
    - +prohibition
    - +general emphasis

II. Social / Cultural
  - Participant related
  - Changing subjects
  - Excluding someone

III. Discourse background and other factors
  - Language previously used
  - Pause

- Surprise
- Check/Confirm

- Topic related
- Quotation

IV. Personal styles

Psychological meanings

Communication is an act of exchanging feelings and information, and language is an important vehicle for mutual understanding. Speaking itself is closely tied with a speaker's psychological condition. In particular, when a bilingual uses two languages in a single conversational context, he switches from one code to the other with a certain intention; at the very least, language alternation itself implies meanings regardless of a speaker's conscious intent. The following examples of English-Japanese code-switching appear to have something to do with psychological effects in language use.

Mending a situation and catching attention

[41] The chairman of the Buddhist Conference makes an announcement to the audience. He is on the stage, standing on the platform; and is trying to catch everybody's attention.

The chairman: Thank you very much for attending today's conference. (pause) Just one moment, I'm sorry. I got a little announcement. 1) Sugu wasurerukara-ne. (I forget soon.)
[Everyone laughs]
(pause)
Ah-, Ms. I would like all directors of the JCC Women's Federation to meet in the room downstairs for just a short while.
2) Mou hitotsu. (One more thing.) T-sensei (teacher) suggests that if anyone who would like to continue the discussions or meet with him, he will be available from three to six. Thank you. [Nisei]

The setting was at the annual Buddhist Conference held at a hotel convention hall in Lethbridge. This dialogue took place right after a guest speaker had finished his speech, and it was an announcement in the concluding statement of the day's schedule. The chairman was a Nisei man in his mid-forties. His Japanese was good enough to conduct the conference as a chairman, but he seemed to be more comfortable in speaking English. An audience of about 200 people was in the hall; these included Issei, Nisei, Shin-Issei, and Sansei. With the exception of the Sansei, most of the others could understand Japanese. Because of this bilingual setting, the conference was conducted both in English and Japanese.

In this example, two psychological meanings should be mentioned. One is that of mending a situation, and the other is of catching another's attention.

The first code-switched Japanese sentence, "Sugu wasureru kara-ne", meaning "I forget soon" mends the chairman's failure to notify the audience of the announcement. In fact, the audience started laughing right after this statement, conveying that they could decode the message of the chairman. The meaning of mending situation was suggested by Calsamiglia and Tuson's (1984) study of Catalan and Castilian code-switching in Barcelona, in which they said that in a single group among friends, Catalan speakers switched to Castilian in order to avoid a conflict if it was about to occur. Although both the English-Japanese and Barcelona examples are mitigating a situation, the former involves more psychological factors to comprehend the language behavior.

Through code-switching 1) the chairman intended to express his humility while correcting an oversight on his part. This is a Japanese interactive behavior often seen on a public occasion. Generally speaking, a chairman or speaker has a higher status than the audience on such an occasion. Since the chairman of this example failed to make an announcement, he humbled himself by mentioning to the public his minor habit of easily forgetting things. He implied, "I am not that distant from you; we are in the same group. I make mistakes just the same as you do". This humbleness, or even putting himself lower than them, was fully understood by the audience. Their laughter was genuine, and indicated even a friendly feeling toward the chairman.

Being humble is considered a positive behavior in Japanese culture. It characterizes the speaker as a moderate and tolerant individual who is able to show some respect to others by depreciating himself. In this setting, the chairman's code-switching was successful in mending the situation, in great part because the audience (members of the same speech community) shared the value of humbleness and correctly interpreted his language behavior. In front of an English-speaking audience, the effect would likely have been very different, and the chairman sympathized with as a poor individual who had shown a minor shortcoming.

The second code-switched sentence of "Mou hitotsu" (One more thing) has the effect of catching the attention of the audience. Just before the chairman's announcement, people in the conference room were about to leave their seats, but sat back again when told that there was more coming. In the chairman's mind, we can assume he felt an obligation to do his task as chairman and make the announcement, while at the same time feeling guilty at asking people to stay longer than they should have. In the confusion of people beginning to leave, he may have switched the code to Japanese to stress that he had more things to say. It was much more conspicuous and effective to say "Just a moment" in Japanese following on the English sentence.

Emphasis

There are several sub-divisions in this category.

Repetition

[42] Four people visited their friends' room in a hotel after the conference until a banquet started in the evening.

Y: Konnichiwa. Ojyama shimasu. (Hello, may I come in?)
[Shin-Issei]
O: Hai, douzo, douzo. (Yes, please, please.) 3)Come, come. Sit on the chair. [Nisei]

[43] At Y and F's residence at a lunch table. F served white-colored honey to R (researcher).

F: Kono honey moratta-no. Konnani shiroi-no. [Nisei]
(This honey is a gift. The color is so white.)
R: Doushite desu-ka? Hana no shurui desu-ka? [Japanese]
(Why is it? Is it because of the kind of flowers?)
F: 4) I don't know. Naze ka shiranai-ne. (I don't know why.) [Nisei]

[44] At Y and F's residence. Y and I (researcher) were trying to figure out who engaged in what kind of occupation. We were looking over the phone book to check the names of those who had Japanese background. Y asked F about B's family.

Y: F, B, resuburiji no B, 5) you know somebody else?
O.K. B. F, K, and Mother, brother...Father.[S-Issei]
(F, the B's in Lethbridge, you know somebody else?
F: What B? [Nisei]
Y: Father? But he is not married. What he's doing now?
[S-Issei]
F: I don't really know. [Nisei]
Y: O.K., but what he's doing? [Shin-Issei]
F: I don't know. [Nisei]
Y: 6) Nani shite hataraite iru? Asokono hitotachi wa-ne.
Ano, korega oishii. [suddenly subject has changed.]
(What are their occupation? I mean those at the B's.
Oh, this tastes good.) [Suggested that I eat]
[Shin-Issei]

[45]   The same setting as the previous one. I was still having breakfast. Meanwhile, Y asked F again about B's family.

F: Don't hesitate to use honey. Honey ippai. Y to itsumo
   giron
   shiterun dakedo-ne, honey wa karada ni iino-yo. [Nisei]
   (Put on a lot of honey. I always argue with Y, but
   honey is good for the body.)
R: Kore bakkari tabete masu kara..   [Japanese]
   (I eat this only.)
F: Well.. Ippai tsukeru no-yo. Me wa itsumo one spoonful
   tsukeru-no.   [Nisei]
   (Well, put on a lot. I always put one spoonful of
   honey.)
   [pause for seven seconds.]
R: Wa-, attakakute oishii. (Wow! This honey is warm and
   tastes good.) [Puts honey on the bread]   [Japanese]
   [pause for three seconds]
Y: F, 7) how many family in ... the B family? [Shin-Issei]
F: I don't know. 8) Shiranai. B family wa amari shiranai.
   (I don't know. I don't know. I don't know B family
   well.)   [Nisei]
Y: Fu-n. O.K. (I see. O.K.)   [Shin-Issei]

In setting [42], Y is a Shin-Issei woman and O is a Nisei man. With three other people, Y visited her friend S's room, where Y's husband, F, and S's husband, O, were also staying. To Y's remark of entering the room (Ojyama shimasu), O invited them in in Japanese first, then repeated the phrase in English. This utterance had the effect of stressing his intention. O may also have chosen the safe code (English) for interaction. Since O had not met the other three people whom Y brought with her, he did not know whether or not they could understand Japanese.

In setting [43], F is Nisei who favors English more than Japanese to communicate. However, I interacted with F in Japanese all the time. He seemed to be more comfortable to talk to me in Japanese. However, he chose English to answer my remark in Japanese. By choosing English, he stressed the fact that he did not know the reason why the color of honey was white by choosing English. Immediately after, he said the same thing in Japanese. This repetition convinced me of F's assertion of ignorance about the topic.

In example [44], Y started out asking F about the B family in English. F's first answer was that he did not know. Y asked about B's occupation next time in English, to which F answered "no". She repeated the same question again in the same language, and received the same answer. At the very end in 6), Y asked the same question, this time in Japanese, to F as if to emphasize that she really needed to get that information.

The situation of the setting and the usage of code-switching in [45] are the same in [44]. Y was still trying to remember the people in B family, whereas F and I were still eating breakfast, talking about honey. Y jumped into our conversation by asking F about the same family in line 7) in terms of the number of family members. To Y's question in English, F answered in Japanese in line 8) to tell her that he really did not know the answer.

Will / Decision

The following three examples show code-switching from English to Japanese which imply the speaker's strong will. Code-switching is technically used for negotiation among participants.

[46] During a break, the chairman of a conference asked three women if one of them would like to lead a group discussion in the Japanese language. Participants of the conversation are Y (Shin-Issei), B (Nisei), and C (Nisei). All of them can speak both Japanese and English. They start

to make excuses in English to avoid the task. English is the language chosen by the chairman.

B: I don't wanna do it. I can't do it, I'm sorry. I'm gonna go out later. I don't know. (Her voice gets weaker showing that she is not involved with the request.) [Nisei]
C: Y will do! [Nisei]
Y: No, no, no! [Shin-Issei]
C: Yeah, you should do! (Talking to Y) [Nisei]
Y: No, no, 9) Nihongo wasureta kara. (I forgot Japanese.) (pause) [Shin-Issei]
B: [To the chairman] Yeah, settled. Y. [Nisei]
Y: No, 10) hirune ni ikou to omotte irun dakara. (I'm thinking of going [home] to take a nap.) [Shin-Issei]

[47] Continuing the recruitment of the group leader. This time, Chairman (C) and K (Nisei) join the conversation.

Y: K, Mr. K? (pause) Yes, him! [Shin-Issei]
C: K- sensei. I see you are. . [Nisei]
K: 11) Ii desu yo. (To Y) (That's O.K.) [Nisei]
Y: Don't hiding. [Shin-Issei]
K: No, not hiding. [Nisei]
The chairman pointed at another woman.
B: No, I can't. [Nisei]
Y: No, but he will. (Pointing at K) [Shin-Issei]
K: Ah? (Bewildered by being pointed at) [Nisei]
Y: Yes, that's good. [Shin-Issei]
C: (To K) You can just direct it. [Nisei]
Y: He said . . [Shin-Issei]
B: I recommend Y. [Nisei]
K: 12) Nakayoku futari de yarinasai. (You two should be a good combination of leaders.) [Nisei]
Y: (Pointing at K) 13) But he can. [Shin-Issei]
C: 14) Tanomimasu. (Would you please?) [Nisei]
K: 15) I won't get it. [Nisei]

[48] At a hotel room. There were seven people in the room (4 Shin-Issei, 2 Nisei and I). Three of them (Y - Shin-Issei, S-Shin-Issei, F- Nisei) were talking about one of their other friends who had an orchard. F was applying a finger pressure therapy to S.

Y: N-san no tomodachi ga-ne, Kelowna de-ne, appuru no ochado o motteru-no. [Shin-Issei]

(Mr. N's friend owns an apple orchard in Kelowna.)
S: Fuu-n, (uhnnn..) [Shin-Issei]
F: Tomodachi ga motteru-no? (Does your friend own that?)
16) Oh, I wanna buy some. Last year, three or four box koutakara-ne. (I bought three or four boxes of apples.) Ano-ne, appuru dake tabetano. Ano, four or five months. How many months attaka-ne. Appuru ga ne. One or two apple motte-ne. [Nisei]
(Well, I ate just apples, ah-, for four or five months. How many months did I have apples? I had one or two apples.)

Y's switch to Japanese in line 9) in which she stated that she forgot Japanese in Japanese, was, strictly speaking, illogical. However, it seemed to express her decision not to accept the request to become a group leader. It was obvious to everyone that it was nothing but an excuse. They all knew quite well of her bilingualism, and it would have been a lame excuse if she had expressed 9) in English. Instead, she chose Japanese, and formed a transparent wall which made further communication impossible between her and the others in terms of the negotiation. Her Japanese selection seemed to express her intention not to deal with the issue anymore. The pause following Y's line 9) might be the indication that the other participants interpreted her indirect rejection.

Y uses the same method in line 10) to respond to the persistence of the chairman. This time, she mentioned something which had nothing to do with the conference, namely, taking a nap; and it stressed the lengths to which she was going to remain with her decision.

Setting [47] provides a very interesting example of how participants skillfully handle code-switching. By switching from English to Japanese and vice versa, each participant voices his own will. The switching on line 11) indicated K's sulkiness toward Y, who recommended K very highly for the leader role. His Japanese, meaning "That's

O.K.", implied a cynicism toward Y as if to say "That may be your attitude to me, but I have another idea". Toward the end of the dialogue, each participant expressed what he or she had in mind. K's remark of "You two should be a good combination of leaders" started off the following series of negotiation. First, his Japanese code choice stressed the point that he did not want to deal with the issue. Then Y rebutted in English, insisting that K should take the post. In line 14), the chairman, whose previous language choice was English, politely asked K to be a group leader in Japanese. This language behavior means that he emphasized his pleading, and also paid some respect to K by shifting code to K's choice. K meanwhile, in return, switched again to English, by which he declined the request of the chairman.

In example [48], F's remark in line 16) expresses his strong hope to buy apples. He instantly switched the code from the previous Japanese to English, which indicates markedness to imply his interest in buying apples.

Repair

Another psychological meaning which is part of emphasis is to correct a mistake.

[49] At Y and F's residence at a supper table. Y, F and I (researcher) are the participants. F put a bowl of rice in a microwave, took it out and handed it to me.

R: [Touching the bowl] Achi, chi. (Hot, hot) [Japanese]
(Touches an earlobe)
[F, Y, and R laugh]
R: Doushite koko sawarun datte iwaremasu yo-ne? [Japanese]
(People wonder why you touch an [earlobe when you touch something hot].)
Y: Shiranai-ne. (I don't know.) [Shin-Issei]
F: Sore wa-ne, kouyatte yaru yori, peppermint oil tsuketara

ii no-yo. (It's better to put on peppermint oil rather
than to [touch your earlobe].) [Nisei]
Y: 17) It's not a burn, just hot! [Shin-Issei]

[50] At Y and F's residence. F was talking to me (researcher) about coleslaw.

F: [To R] Coleslaw ni, amari satou ireru karane, karada ni
yoku nai-ne. Ookina iremono ni ne, coleslaw ten pounds
tsukutta no-ne. Kore ten pounds sugar kurai ireta-yo.
(Coleslaw is not good for health since it contains a lot
of sugar. Once they made about ten pounds of coleslaw,
and they put about ten pounds of sugar in it.) [Nisei]
Y: 18) If you eat that. Sukoshi dake taberu dake.
(If you eat that. [It is not that bad] only if you eat
a little.) [Shin-Issei]
F: Dakara coleslaw wa karadani iito omotta kedo, aredake
sugar iretano mitara hontouni eedarou kana to omotta-ne.
Karada ni. [Nisei]
(So, I had thought that coleslaw was good for health but
after seeing it contained that much sugar, I doubted if
it was really good. For health.)

In this setting, Y's remark on line 17) indicated that what F was trying to say was off the point. Since F thought that Y and I were talking about burns, he mentioned that peppermint oil was efficacious to heal them. As soon as Y realized F's misunderstanding, she corrected him by saying the line 17) in English. She might have felt the necessity of saying it in English for F because she thought he could not fully understand the topic spoken in Japanese.

Y's line on 18) in the setting [50] functions the same way as 17) in the context of correcting his idea. With her English switching with markedness, line 18) emphasizes her idea that coleslaw is not as bad as he thinks as long as it is eaten in small quantities.

Suggestion

Code-switching is effectively used to suggest to someone that he do something.

[51] Y and F were talking about plans for a trip at the supper table.

F: Kyo, nani? (Today, what?) [Nisei]
Y: S-san ni itta? Iku tte. (Did you tell Mr. S that [we] will go?) [Shin-Issei]
F: No. [Nisei]
Y: 19) Why don't you phone now? [Shin-Issei]
F: Can't go. I don't think, Y. [Nisei]
Y: Did you ask doctor, didn't you? [Shin-Issei]
F: Ah-, 20) hitori de ittara ii ka-. [Nisei]
(Ah-, I wonder if it's better to go by myself.)
Y: 21) Why? [Shin-Issei]

Line 19) implies suggestion as well as emphasis. Y's tone of voice in this phrase was rather high, suggesting that this was a request, not a question. It was rather obvious that Y was giving F pressure to think seriously about the trip. Her code alternation from the previous Japanese might have been intentional to strengthen her request, or in response to F's English reply of "no". F switched again to Japanese at line 20), which indicated his hesitation or effort to avoid Y's insistence, and possibly insinuating his idea of travelling alone to Y. Then on line 21), Y persisted in asking him about the issue in using English, which connotatively emphasized that she was still very much interested in the trip and would like to continue talking about it. This is another example of negotiation by the medium of code-switching, shifting from Japanese to English and vice versa.

The other example is "Don't hesitate to use honey." in the setting [45] in the category of emphasis.

Prohibition

Code-switching is effective in prohibiting someone from doing something.

[52] The setting is at the hotel room where there are seven people chatting with one another in both English and Japanese. F is performing finger pressure therapy on S, astride of her. As for the participants, S is Shin-Issei, so is Y. F is Nisei.

S: Tottemo ano-, cho ga warui. (My stomach condition is very bad.) [Shin-Issei]
F: Cho ga warui? (Pushing her shoulder) (Your stomach condition is very bad?) [Nisei]
S: U-n (replying and groaning) [Shin-Issei]
Y: Ah-, mou sore wa cho ni makasete okeba ii. 22) Don't worry. [Shin-Issei]
(Ah, you had better leave your stomach alone. Don't worry.)
S: Iitoko sagasu no ga nakanaka taihen nano-ne. (It is difficult to find healthy parts in my body.) [Shin-Issei]
Y: Anmari shinpai shite yaru to ah-, 23) you know, amaete itsumademo waruku narukara. 24) Don't worry.
(If you worry so much, ah-, you know. Your stomach just gets worse. So don't worry.) [Shin-Issei]

Numbers 22) and 24) imply the meaning of emphatic prohibition. A short sentence like these two examples has a clear and precise meaning, and it is very effective in terms of sending messages when spoken in another language. Y (a coordinate bilingual) tends to alternate code in the short expressions; for example, "That's nice!" and "Let's go". They are mostly expressions dealing with some psychological elements and feelings of the speakers. As for 23), it is an independent phrase which functions to fill in the gap between the first phrase and the second. The preceding "Ah-" actually might indicate that Y was seeking the right words or thinking what she should say. The sentence including 23) is considered as intra-sentential code-switching with Japanese structure, as was explained in example [4].

General emphasis

[53] Y and I are sitting in the conference meeting room to wait for another session to begin. We are talking about where I am from. Y talked about the famous snow festival held in my home town in Japan.

R: Ni gatsu no jyo-jun ni yuki matsuri ga arun desu-ne.
(In early February, there is a snow festival in Sapporo.)
[Japanese]
Y: 25) I think it's the world number 1. Winipegu yorimo ii-no. (It's much better than the one in Winnipeg.)
[Shin-Issei]

[54] In a conference room during a tea break, S, Y and I are chatting. Both S and Y asked me when I came to Canada.

Y: Watashimo-ne, sannen-tte kiita toki ni-ne, sonna-ni iruno tte bikkuri shita-no, saisho. Soshitara-ne, nijuu nen nante maa i-zi desho.
(At first when I heard [that she has been here for] three years, I was surprised to know that she's been here so long. But then twenty years is rather easy.)
[Shin-Issei]
S: Easy yo-nee. (Isn't it easy?) [Shin-Issei]
Y: 26) Twenty four hours a day. Seven days a week? No come back. [Shin-Issei]
S: Honto-yo. (Exactly.) [Shin-Issei]

In both dialogues, the lines which may imply emphasis were switched from Japanese to English. Although Y probably did not realize her own code-switching, two lines 25) and 26) were the expressions that she stressed the most. Besides emphasis, in both cases the language was altered when the topic dealt with numbers. They affirm the switching tendency for numbers as mentioned in part 1.

[55] At the Buddhist Conference. Y and I met Y's friends (Nisei and Shin-Issei) in the hall during the intermission.

R: Hajimemashite. Shima to moushimasu. Yoroshiku onegai shimasu.
(How do you do? My name is Shima. Nice to meet you.)
[Japanese]
Y: O san-ne. Koruderu ni osumai no kata desu. Kono hito C san. Kono hito made in Japan.

(This is Mr. O. He lives in Coaldale. This is Mr. C.
He is made in Japan.) [Shin-Issei]
(laugh)
Chotto furuku natta made in Japan.
(A little bit old made in Japan.)
C: Antaramo made in Japan jya nai-no? [Shin-Issei]
(You too are made in Japan, aren't you?)
Y: Sorya, 27)good company made in Japan. Recycle brand new.
(Well.) [Shin-Issei]

[56] At the Conference. Y and S were talking about their club activities.

S: Akutibu na hito dakara karugari ni kite-yo.[S-Issei]
(As you are an active person, please come to Calgary.)
Y: 28) I'm thinking. Zutto kangaeteiru no-yo. Odori yatteru-no? [Shin-Issei]
(I'm thinking. I keep thinking. Have you been practicing dancing?)
S: Odori? (Dance?) [Shin-Issei]

[57] At Y and F's residence at supper table. F and I were talking about an onion dish.

R: Kore nante iun desho? Onion... [Japanese]
(How do you call this dish? Onion...)
F: Acchi no botoru wa-ne, are kesa monku ittakara-ne, sutenai youni kitte ireta-no. Me wa-ne, konomama kiru desho. [Nisei]
(As Y complained the way I cut onions this morning, I cut them differently and put them [in the bottle]. I usually cut like this.)
R: Ah, kirikataga chigaun desu-ne. [Japanese]
(Aha, different way to cut.)
F: No. Ano chiisaku kiruna tte itta kara-ne. 29) Big piece.
(No, since Y told me not to cut it in small pieces..
[I cut it in] big pieces.) [Nisei]

[58] At Y and F's residence, talking about the onion dish.

F: Kore-ne, one day kurai oitara mada oishiku natte kuruno ne. [Nisei]
(If you leave this a day, it becomes more tasty.)
R: U-n. [Japanese]

F: Koredemo oishii-yo. Demo 30) I like it. [Nisei]
(This tastes even good. But I like it.)
R: Oishiidesu-yo. (Yes, indeed.) [Japanese]

In these four examples, the underlined code-switched lines are emphasis with markedness by using the other language. Other examples of general emphasis are 4, 6, 7, 11, 15, 22, 23, 25, 28, and 29 in the appendix, and settings [45], [61] and [83].

Surprise

The following example shows a speaker's surprise by switching languages.

[59] Y, F and I are having supper. Y asks F if he would like to have another bowl of soup.

Y: You get another piece? [Shin-Issei]
F: No. [Nisei]
Y: You wanna drink it? [Shin-Issei]
F: O.K. [Nisei]
Y: 31) Konna ookinano motteru-no. (You served in such a big bowl.) [Shin-Issei]

[60] At Tonari-gumi, playing bingo. Four Nisei women were talking about who won the game.

P4: Somebody got it? [Nisei]
P1: Dareka? (Who got it?) [Nisei]
P2: Minna issho ya nai-no. [The same people win!)
P3: 32)She got again? [Nisei]
P4: Well, one more game left. [Nisei]

[61] At Tonari-gumi, playing bingo. Nisei women were again talking about the winner in an other game session.

P1: A-ra, ara, mata. (Oh, my goodness. Again.) [Nisei]
P2: Yeah, the same person. [Nisei]
P1: Oh, is that right? [Nisei]
P3: Well. [Nisei]
P2: Oh-, 33) yokatta ne. Mou ichido. (Oh, that's good. [She won] again.) [Nisei]
P4: Ne-,ne ne. You, too had two more. [Nisei]
(Hey, hey, hey) [Look into my board]
P2: Oh, did she? [Look at my board] Oh, yeah. [Nisei]
P1: I had a few more, too. [Nisei]

P4: Three more. [Nisei]
P3: Tsugi ni ganbaru shika nai-ne.
(All we have to do is to do our best next time.)

[62] At a Japanese dance class. Participants: Y and W3

Y: Tsugi wa Hanagasa ne. Hanagasa. [Shin-Issei]
(Next dance is Hanagasa. Hanagasa.)
[Five seconds - Silence]
[Everyone comes to the front to get their fans.]
W3: 34) Oh! This one is for me. O.K. [Nisei]
[Everyone laughs.]

In the four settings above, each line from 31) to 34) indicates each speaker's surprise. Line 31) expresses Y's surprise. She found her husband had served soup for himself in a big cup. This code-switching was rather natural, as it accompanied a sudden burst of feeling. P3 was surprised to learn that the same person won the game again in setting [60]. So did P2 in the next setting. In [62], W3 showed her momentous surprise in English. Abrupt changes in emotions such as anger, excitement, happiness, and surprise are likely to be expressed in a different language. In many cases, individuals switch to their mother tongue if the language being used is another one; and they are usually not conscious of changing codes.

Check/ Confirm

When one does not quite understand what was said, he usually asks speaker to repeat the phrase, or asks a more precise question in order to confirm. In a conversation among bilinguals, code-switching can replace that role. A listener sometimes alternates code to ask and check whether his interpretation of the speaker's remarks was correct or not.

[63] In a hotel room at the conference where there are seven people chattering. F is explaining to the others how finger therapy is more effective than ordinary medical

treatment provided at a hospital. He practices it on S (Shin-Issei), and shows everyone how to press shoulders with his fingers.

F: What I'm doing here is to press and hold. But, ne-,
normally ne-, hosupitaru ni haitte iruno-ne. Imamade
ne, three ka four day ni kaetteru.
(But, ah-, normally, you know. People usually stay in a
hospital and leave there after three or four days.)
[Nisei]
N: 35) Just fourteen? [Shin-Issei]
F: I don't think fourteen. Four days. [Nisei]

[64] At a Japanese dance class. Y demonstrated how to dance for one song.

Y: Ne-, Good good. Antano suteki yo. [Watching at W5's
dance.] [Shin-Issei]
(Good, good. Your dance is good.)
W5: I couldn't do that. [Sansei]
[Laugh - six seconds]
Y: Ii? Kasa motteru desho. Ah-. [Shin-Issei]
(O.K.? You hold an umbrella. Ah-.)
[Laugh - four seconds]
Y: Ah-, dameda dameda. (Ah-, no good, no good.)[S-Issei]
W2: Kantarou utatta kara omoi dashite irun desho.[Nisei]
(You probably remember (the move) for Kantarou dance
since you sang the song just a minute ago.)
Y: Sou, omoi dashite iruno.(Yes, I remembered.) [S-Issei]
W1: Tan, tan to mae e detara kirei dato omotte, tan tan.
[She clapped her hands and danced.] [Nisei]
(Clap your hands, and think you are pretty and another
clap.)
Y: O.K. Jya, Nihon ne. Nihon Ondo? [Shin-Issei]
(O.K. Next is Nihon Ondo?)
36) Are we practice the same one or enough?

[65] At a Japanese dance class. Y, the instructor gave direction for the next dance.

W1: Soshitara tsugi naani? (So, what is next?)[Nisei]
Y: Shukuhai? Ippon tattara, we have a tune. 37) We'll do
again. O.K? You like this? O.K.? [Shin-Issei]
(Shukuhai? After dancing once, we'll dance it again,
O.K.? Do you like this dance? O.K.?)

F's second and third lines in [63] are intra-sentential code-switching based on Japanese grammatical structure. He used English for numbers and days. N, meanwhile, used English in line 35) as if he wanted to confirm if his interpretation was right. He might have heard "fourteen" for four days, and thought it was strange since there was a big gap between those two numbers. It is understandable that if one of the two bilinguals, who have different levels of language ability such as between a coordinate bilingual and a compound bilingual, is not sure what is said, he is likely to choose the first language of his interlocutor for clarification. In both [64] and [65], Y as an instructor had to give guidance to the students in dancing procedure. She switched from Japanese to English in order to make sure that everyone understood the guidance.

Social and Cultural Meanings

Language use is strongly affected by social and cultural factors. In the case of Japan, participants in a conversation use an appropriate form of speech according to their relative social statuses. They choose among polite, respectful, and humble forms so that to someone who is older or has higher social status (like a boss in a company), one uses both respectful and humble forms; to someone who is not familiar, or to acquaintances and friends who are not so close, a polite form is favored. As with monolinguals who adjust their form of speech and tone of voice according to the status of the interlocutor, bilinguals adjust their language according to social settings and norms. In this section, English-Japanese code-switching is considered within a social and cultural framework focusing on participants and topics of conversation.

Participant related

The following dialogues illustrate code-switching as a response to participants of a conversation. They occurred at Y and F's house.

[66] Having supper and talking about how to make an onion dish.

F: [Tried an onion dish] Mo chotto aji ga attara ii-ne.
(It would taste better if you added more flavor.)
[Nisei]
R: Oishii. (It's good.) [Japanese]
F: Oishii? (It's good?) Kore-ne, 38) four ka five onion
haitte iru-no. (This contains four or five onions.)
[Nisei]
R: Korede itsutsu desu-ka? (This contains only five
onions?] [Japanese]
Y: Chiisai no haitte iru kara. (Because small ones are in
it.)
[To F.] 39) Small size, too. Just only one big onion.
[Shin-Issei]
F: Un? [Nisei]
Y: 40) Only one big one, small size desho? [Shin-Issei]
F: 41) Nani o ireta no? (You mean what I add to [the onion
dish]?) [Nisei]
R: Kore nannichi kurai motsun desu-ka? (How long do you
think you can preserve it?) [Japanese]
F: 42) Daitai ishukan kurai. San shuukan kurai motsu.
(About one week. Three weeks is possible.) [Nisei]

In this dialogue, there are two patterns of speech dependent on the participant pairs: F and Y (husband and wife), and F and R (researcher). F and Y mixed English and Japanese both intrasententially, as in line 38), and intersententially. They spoke back and forth in a different language. When F spoke Japanese, Y replied in English and vice versa; and such language alternation between them seemed to be very natural. There was no hesitation, not even a slight pause, as long as they talked by themselves.

It seemed that they tacitly and unconsciously understood that a mixed usage of two languages at word or sentence-level was their style of communication. In the above setting, as line 39) shows, Y talked to F in English. She repeated the same thing in line 40) in intrasentential code-switching by putting a Japanese tag particle at the end of the sentence, and made it a tag question. Probably she thought that F could not hear what she was saying. Then F answered in Japanese in line 41).

As for the other pattern between F and me, F seemed to be conscious of using Japanese as much as possible. He usually used English for numbers and days; but in line 42), which was addressed to me, he used Japanese instead. This phenomenon was not restricted to this situation, but generally, F used more Japanese when speaking to me.

Another example dealing with these three participants is as follows:

[67] The setting is the same as the previous one. Y and I are talking about the pronunciation of Y's Japanese friend's name. F was listening to our conversation and abruptly broke into the conversation. The language code shifted from that moment.

Y: [To me] Nihonjin no namae de-ne, S. S, iinikui-ne.
   Sukoshi yoku natta?
   (Japanese name, S. S, it's difficult to pronounce.
   Sounds a little bit better?)   [Shin-Issei]
Y and R: [Laugh]
Y: Because, ano, karugari kara ne, S. Iinikui no-ne.
   (Because, well, from Calgary, S. Hard to say.)
   [S-Issei]
F: 43) Sorekara atta-no? K's de.   [Nisei]
(So, did you see her? At the K's?)
Y: Oh, yeah.   [Shin-Issei]
F: Do datta? (How was she?)   [Nisei]
Y: She's gonna buy but not now. (Y and S went to K's house
   to see a Karaoke machine.) [Shin-Issei]
F: Karada no guai wa? (How is her health condition?)
   [Nisei]
Y: Oh, yeah. She's very good. Oh, we have to go soon.
   [S-Issei]

Before F broke into the dialogue, Y and I were talking in Japanese. F's Japanese on line 43) was the same language choice as Y and R's, but Y's code was altered afterwards. She spoke to F in English just as the setting [44], and F spoke to Y in Japanese. At the same time, the topic changed from the difficult pronunciation of the name S to whether she felt better after F gave her finger pressure therapy.

Further examples include the following:

[68] At Y and F's residence, having supper. F was fixing Ochazuke, pouring hot green tea on top of rice. Y asked me to have another bowl of rice.

Y: Kono atsuino ageru kara (sound of microwave)
(I will give you this hot one [a bowl of rice].)[S-Issei]
R: Iidesu, iidesu. Ohiya de. (That's O.K. Cold [rice] is
just fine.) [Japanese]
Y: Yeah- (laugh) Oyu kake-te? Takusan tabete kudasai.
(Are you going to pour hot water [on top of rice?]
Please eat more.)
[To F] Tsumetaino tabeta-no? (Did you eat the cold one?)
[Shin-Issei]
F: Aha? [Nisei]
Y: Tsumetai node tabeta-no? U? Gohan? [Shin-Issei]
(Did you eat the cold one? ha? Rice?)
F: Gohan, nani? (Rice, what?) [Nisei]
Y: Tsumetaino ni iretano? (Did you pour [hot water] on the
cold rice?) [Shin-Issei]
F: 44) Oh, yeah. Enough anyway. [Nisei]
Y: All right? [Shin-Issei]
F: Just rice. [Nisei]

F paid attention to the Researcher. The conversation between Y and F stopped.

F:[To researcher] 45) Atsui no, atsuito-ne, tabere nai-no.
(Pointing at miso soup) [Nisei]
(When soup is hot, I cannot drink.)
Y: [To researcher] He, he [laughing sound], nante iuka
wakaru? [Shin-Issei]
(Ha, ha, do you know what it's called?)
R: Nekojita. (A cat's tongue [A tongue too sensitive to
hotness]) [Japanese]

[69] At Y and F's residence, talking about the Onion dish. Y was talking to Awi, their cat at the stairs.

F: Onion o kouyatte tabetara jyuubun ni taberareru-ne. Me,
ano nama no mama demo yoku taberuno-ne.
(I can eat enough onion if I cook this way. I often eat
it raw.) [Nisei]
Y comes back.
Y: Supoon iru? (Do you need a spoon?) [Shin-Issei]
R: Iidesu. (No, thank you.) [Japanese]
F: 46) I wanna put a little bit of pepper. [To Y] [Nisei]
R: Ashitani nattara kitto motto pena- tto shite masu yo
-ne? (Maybe onion would get softer tomorrow.)
[Japanese]

[70] At Y and F's residence talking about basketball.

F: Ano-, kono intermerril no Mormon chimu o makaseta tokini
wa rebound o me ga ichiban yoku totta-ne. Dakara Mormon
no mono wa mou makasareta kara mou gakkari shita-no. De-
[Nisei]
(Ah-, I took rebounds the most when our team won against
the Mormon team. The members of the Mormon team were
disappointed about having lost the game.)
Y: 47) But not Japanese team, isn't it? [Shin-Issei]
F: No, no. 48) You know what ah.. Ano-, ano-, Saint
Stevens College no team datta-no. [Nisei]
(They were the Saint Stevens College's team.)
Y and R: Fu-n.
F: Sono team ni six foot seven no senshu ga ita-no.
(In that team, there was a player [whose height] was six
feet seven.) [Nisei]
R: Six feet seven! [Japanese]
F: But rebound wa me ga ichiban yoku totta-ne.
(But I took rebounds the most.) [Nisei]

These examples have something to do with participants. In setting [68], F answered Y's Japanese in English, which is rather common as their speech style; but soon after that, he switched to Japanese in order to speak to me on line 45). F's English line on 46) in [69] was directed to Y. In setting [70], Y's English line 47) was directed to F, and he answered in English in the following line; but in between, he switched into Japanese, probably because of being conscious of my presence. An other example is example [45].

Language choice is determined by participants, as these examples indicate. People choose the code which is most comfortable for interaction with a particular individual. Using a different code from the usual makes both feel very awkward, or that something unusual is happening. Suddenly they do not fit in an already-built interactive framework, and they are bound with inappropriate networks of interaction. For instance, Y and my mutual understanding is to use Japanese because it is our mother tongue. We will only use English when meeting someone who does not understand Japanese well. If just the two of us used something other than Japanese, it would indicate a distancing in our relationship. Y and F, meanwhile, mix the two languages - it is their style of speaking; whereas F's and my code is Japanese. Bilinguals differentiate language use depending in the participants of a conversation.

Changing subject

Code-switching occurs when the subject of conversation changes. This can be either conscious or unconscious in bilinguals.

[71] At a Buddhist conference. A group of people are arguing about who will take the role of a discussion leader. Participants are I (Nisei, chairman), K (Nisei), and Y (Shin-Issei).

I: (To K) Sensei, onegai shimasu. [Nisei]
(Mr. K. please be a leader.) [K ignored I. K poked Y who was sitting in front of him.]
Y: Ingurishu jyozu desho. (pause) 49) Jyo is downstairs.
(You speak English well, don't you?) [Shin-Issei]

That's all right. [Annoyed by K's poking].
Kiiteru-yo. No, no! (I'm listening.)

I, the chairman, asked K to be a leader; but since K did not want to be, he ignored I. He poked Y instead to suggest she take the role. Y meant that K should do so by saying "Ingurishu jyozu desho". Then there was a short pause, and intersentential code-switching 49) follows. Here, Y mentioned another person who could be the leader; and her aim was to divert attention from herself. It was also a statement that she did not want to lead a group discussion. Given the context, code-switching at a topic change also served as a form of emphasis.

Excluding someone

Code-switching is sometimes used to exclude a monolingual from the conversation.

[72] At a Japanese restaurant in Lethbridge. Participants are Y (Shin-Issei), D (Nisei), and me. A family sitting at the next table were not sure of the menu, so Y helped them to choose some dishes. The following dialogue between D and Y took place after Y returned to her seat, but they kept their voices low so that the neighbors could not overhear them.

D: So, what did you recommend? [Nisei]
Y: Ah-, pork and ginger, tempura, teriyaki chicken, tonkatsu set.
[Shin-Issei]
D: That's a lot. [Nisei]
Y: Oh, yeah. [Shin-Issei]
D: 50) Ah-, yoku taberu koto. Shinjirarenai-ne.

(Oh, they eat a lot. Hard to believe.) [Nisei]

For me, it was surprising to hear D speak in Japanese to Y, since it had become clear that English was their main language of communication, at least in my presence. D always spoke to me in English, even though she could speak some Japanese. In the above setting, it was clear that D did not want Y's neighbors to hear the comment about their good appetite, and so switched to Japanese which the neighbors did not speak. This type of switching tends to occur especially when speaking critically about someone else.

Discourse Background and Other Factors

In addition to the triggers for code-switching and negotiated meanings already outlined, there are factors dealing with the background of discourse. A speakers' language choice is unconsciously affected by the setting, such as the former language choice, or an extended pause in the conversation. In this section, such background elements involved in code-switching are examined.

Language previously used

Code alternation affected by the interlocutor's code choice is usually a double code-switching: code alternation occurs two times - the first by the interlocutor, and the second by the speaker influenced by his partner's code-switching.

[73] At a conference hotel room. Seven people were in the room (4 Shin-Issei, 2 Nisei and the researcher). Some of them met for the first time. Participants in this conversation are Y (Shin-Issei), N (Shin-Issei), and F (Nisei). N and Y were talking about the difficult pronunciation of English sounds which do not exist in Japanese. F participates in the conversation after everyone laughed, at which time the norm shifted.

N: "L" to "R" no hatsuon wa muzukashii. Otoko no namae de
"Larry" tte aru desho? L-a-r-r-y? L to R ga aru desho.
Are ga taihen ne. [Shin-Issei]
(To pronounce "L" and "R" is very difficult. There is a
guy's name, Larry. L-a-r-r-y? It has L and R. These two
letters are hard to pronounce.)
Y: Honto ni. "Hey, you!" da yo ne. Sorekoso. T-ko san (N's

wife) dareka ni ittari shite. [Shin-Issei]
(Yes, indeed. (It's easy to say) just "Hey, you!". What if T-ko san says that to some men?)
N: Iya-, yome san ga ittara, "Hazubando ga iru kara.."
(If my wife says that to other men, I will say, "She has a husband." [Shin-Issei]
[Laugh]
(Silence)
F: Are you from Calgary? [Nisei]
N: 51) Ah-, boku wa Grass Lake desu. [Shin-Issei]
(Ah, I'm from Grass Lake.)
Y: Oh- atta koto aruno? [Shin-Issei]
(Oh, have you two met each other before?)
F: Ah-, yeah. 52) Chotto itsumo agatte kuru-ne. Mae ni atta koto aru-ne. (To N) [Nisei]
(Ah-, yeah. You always visit [Lethbridge] for a short period. We have met before, haven't we?)

N's remark on line 51) was spoken in Japanese even though he was asked by F in English. This reaction was probably due to the fact that N had been talking with Y in Japanese before F asked him a question. F's code alternation was clearly expressed in this dialogue. His code has changed from Japanese to English after being asked a question by Y in Japanese. Although it was English in which F asked N a question, F's next line was in Japanese as shown in 52), presumably as the result of being affected by Y's remark in Japanese.

In order to verify whether code-switching is evoked from the language previously used, I made an experiment in the following setting.

[74] At Y and F's residence at the supper table. F and I are talking about the recipe of an onion dish.

F: Sunflower oil or vegetable oil. Cooking oil iretara iino. (It's good to put cooking oil in.) [Nisei]
R: Sore dono kurai desu ka?
(About how much?)
53) How much? [Japanese]
F: 54) I would say maybe about two or three tablespoons.
O.k. Honey. Honey wa one spoon. Honey aru? (One spoonful of honey. Do you have honey?) [Nisei]

I wanted to see if F would code-switch to English by asking him a question in English. I asked the question first in Japanese, then asked the same thing in English. F, as expected, switched to English as indicated in line 54). However, the switch only lasted for a single sentence; and after that, he returned to Japanese, which was his first code choice when he spoke to me. All ingredients such as oil and honey had English pronunciation in F's speech. This pattern is sound shift which occurs with the food-related vocabulary as discussed in part one.

[75] At the Conference. Y met her friend U (Nisei) and introduced me.

Y: Hi. Good morning. [Shin-Issei]
U: Good morning. [Nisei]
Y: Mrs. U, ano, Shima Naomi-san. Kono mae miete. [S-Issei]
(Mrs. U, well, this is Miss Naomi Shima. She came here the other day.)
U: From where? [Nisei]
Y: Sapporo (Japanese pronunciation) but ah-, 55) she's studying in Edmonton. [Shin-Issei]
U: Uh ha. Oh, yes. (Looks at me.) [Nisei]
Y: She's graduating from U. of A. [Shin-Issei]
U: Oh, U of A? [Nisei]

[76] At Y and F's residence. Y and I (researcher) have been looking through a phone book to find Japanese names, and have been trying to figure out people's occupations.

R: C. B. [Japanese]
Y: C. B. Who is C. B? [Shin-Issei]
R: I don't know. [Japanese]
O. J san. (Mr. O. J.)
Y: He's working at a department. [Shin-Issei]
R: P san. (Mr. P.) [Japanese]
Y: 56) P san wa kaisha ni hataraite iru. (He works at a company.) [Shin-Issei]
R: D. U san.(Ms. D. U.) [Japanese]
Y: D. U san wa CBC? [To F] (Does D.U work at CBC?) [Shin-Issei]
F: 57) I don't know. [Nisei]
Y: 58) I think ... service. [Shin-Issei]

The above code-switching examples are also related to the code previously used. In [75], Y spoke to U in Japanese first, but U replied to her in English. Y's English line 55) seemed to be triggered by U's English. The setting [76] is interesting in that Y and R were speaking English, which was not their code. Y's response at the beginning was in English, but R's line of "P san" followed Y's Japanese. Y once switched to Japanese because of that interruption, but switched back to English again on the line 58) after F answered the line 57) in English.

This type of code-switching is not motivated by negotiation; rather, it occurs unconsciously to the speaker within the natural flow of conversation. It is assumed that the code-switching occurs as the result of the rapid response of the speaker, who only responds to the language selected by his interlocutor.

Pause

A pause in the conversation is a principal cause of code-switching. A few seconds' silence eliminates the previous norm and establishes a new one. Besides language, the interlocutor and topic may be changed. Some examples follow.

[77] At Y and F's residence at the supper table. F was talking to me about the ingredients of an onion dish; this was followed by a pause, then Y started a new topic.

F: Seasoning pepper mo dono grocery store demo kaeru-yo.
(You can get seasoning pepper at any grocery store.)
[pause] - (Eating)
Supaisu no tokoro ni ittara utteru-yo. [Nisei]
(You can find it in a seasoning section.)
[a long pause]
Y: 59) You get another piece? [Shin-Issei]
F: No. [Nisei]

There was a shift of topic and interlocutor right after the long pause. F was, before the shift, talking to me in Japanese; but after the pause, he alternated to English, and the topic of "the seasoning pepper" was terminated. In this setting, the pause functioned to change the entire conversational flow of the previous setting.

[78] After playing bingo as one activity of Tonari-gumi at a Buddhist Church, people had a break to have some tea and snacks. After that, several women did the dishes and the others cleaned the hall. The following example was recorded in the kitchen where approximately ten women were working. This particular example is a conversation between A and B who are both Nisei, and are washing the dishes.

A: Hami-chan, please bring two more here. (Two more dishes.) [Nisei]
B: Oh, two more? [Nisei]
A: Uh ha. [Nisei]

[A long pause]

(To B) 60) Kore... dashite, koko ni oku kara. [Nisei]
(Please take them out. I will put them right here.)

B complied with A's direction.

B: Mou nai-yo. (There are no more.) [Nisei]

In this instance, code-switching was triggered by a pause as in the preceding case, but there was no change in either interlocutor or topic. It is suggested that the two Nisei, A and B, talk to each other freely mixing the two languages on a daily basis. The language switch takes place naturally with the slight changes caused by a pause in the conversation. Probably, this switch occurs randomly rather than on particular occasions; and they mutually interpret the system of code-switching and the meaning behind it.

These examples illustrate two different types of code-switching occurring after a pause. In one, the topic and sometimes the participant of a conversation are changed.

In the other, there is no change of interlocutors or topic; the blank space of time changes the choice of language used in an ongoing conversation. Another examples are 13 in appendix and example [62] in the body of this thesis.

Topic related

Code-switching occurs with a change in topic, even when all the other situational factors of the conversation remain unchanged.

[79] Two women (Shin-Issei and Nisei) meet each other for the first time after a long absence. They greet each other in English; then the Shin-Issei woman L, who is E's mother's friend, asks about E's mother in Japanese.

L: How are you? [Shin-Issei]
E: Oh, I'm fine. [Nisei]
L: How's your school going? [Shin-Issei]
E: I've just finished mid-terms. [Nisei]
L: Oh... How was it? [Shin-Issei]
E: Well, I think I did O.K. There were a couple which I didn't think I did well in though. [Nisei]
L: 61) Oka-san genki? (How is your mother?) [Shin-Issei]
E: Genki. (She is fine.) [Nisei]
L: Sou. Kyou konakatta no-ne.[Shin-Issei]
(I see. She did not come today, did she?)

L's code-switching on line 61) occurred smoothly with no distinctive markedness such as a pause or hesitation before the alternation. This example is thus different from Blom and Gumperz's (1986) situational code-switching. The first part of the dialogue was about E's school study, and spoken in English. The latter part about E's mother was spoken in Japanese. It seems that in this situation, the type of topic is the cause of code-switching; or metaphorical code-switching in Blom and Gumperz's terms (chapter 2), in which the language switch relates to particular topics. The more general topic, such as the example of schooling, tends to be discussed in English, which is the code the speakers use in their social life; i.e. at school and work, and perhaps most of their time in their daily lives. On the other hand, more personal issues like family business is likely to be spoken in Japanese, which is the language used at home, and also on the occasions when Japanese gather. E's mother is L's friend whom she has known for a long time, so that for L, talking about her is categorized as personal business. In a bilingual setting, Japanese language is, in this way, related to people's family life or speech community; and English is the code used for other boundaries. These two languages are respectively entitled as "we code" and "they code" in Gumperz's terms (1982), as mentioned in Chapter 2.

Quotation

When people are speaking in one language and cite another person's phrase which was spoken in a different language, the quoted part is code-switched to that other language.

[80] At Y and F's residence. F is talking to me about where he first tried an onion dish which has been the topic of our conversation almost throughout supper.

F: Sooshitara, soup and sandwich taberu kara, 62) "Why don't you stay for supper" tte iu kara, soup and salad tabeta no-ne. Chicken and salad sandwich tabeta no-ne. Jibun de sandwich tsukutta no-ne. De, kore dashite otta kara, 63) "Try this" tte iu kara, try shitara oishikatta no-ne. [Nisei]
(Then the guy said as they would have soup and sandwiches, "Why don't you stay for supper?"; and I had soup and salad. That was a chicken and salad sandwich. I made the sandwich myself. This onion dish was on the table, and he said, "Try this".
So I did and found it was delicious.)

[81] At F' and Y's residence at a supper table, talking about the seasoning used for the dish for the supper.

Y: Jyapanizu no shouyu to kono kuni no to mikkusu suru to ii aji ni naru. Kono kuni no iron nano tsukattemo ne, watashi itsumo minnani tsukutte agerun dakedo,chotto oshouyu iretari nanika suruto mina wakara nai none.
(It makes it tastes better if you mix Japanese soy sauce and the one you can get here. Whenever I cook [Western food] for my friends, I use Western [seasonings], but I put on some soy source; then everyone does not tell the [taste].) [Shin-Issei]
R: Un. (Yes.) [Japanese]
Y: 64) "How did you make it?" to iuno ne. [Shin-Issei]
(They ask me, " How did you make it?")
R: Ah-n. [Japanese]
Y: 65) "How did you make it? Give me a recipe."
"I have no recipe." [Shin-Issei]

The lines 62) to 65) are direct quotations of the individual with whom F and Y interacted. Language alteration triggered by quotation carries no interactive meanings. Another example is 16 in the appendix.

Personal Styles / Response

Some examples of code-switching that appeared to be personal styles of speaking were gathered. Among them, I found that responses by an interlocutor could be in English even while the speaker is talking in Japanese, but the reverse was not found in the present study.

Those English responses such as "No" and "Yeah" are found among Nisei participants while speaking in Japanese. Those examples are in 21, 23, and 29 in the appendix; and [31] in the body of this thesis. It was hard to find code-switching in responses among Shin-Issei. There is no example of English response in this group of people except for one individual. Because of this very low frequency, code alternation in response among Shin-Issei is unique, a personal speech style, which does not fit into the other categories. In the following examples, focus will be on the individual's way of responding.

[82] At Y and F's residence at a dining table. Y and F are talking about another dish using vinegar and salmon.

R: Watashi mo mae ni kocchi ni kaette kite, shake no marine
ga tabetaku natte. [Japanese]
(After I came back here from Japan, one day, I wanted to
eat fried salmon pickled in vinegar)
Y: 66) Oh, yeah? [Shin-Issei]
R: Shake katte kite, furai ni shite. De, tamanegi to,
(I bought salmon and fried it. Then with onion,
[Japanese]
Y: Un. (Yes.) [Shin-Issei]
R: Tomato to piman to, kou, marinei to shite. [Japanese]
(with tomato and green pepper, I mixed it together.)
Y: 67) Oh. [Shin-Issei]
R: Demo sono hino uchi ni tsukuttemo nanimo oishiku nain
desu yo-ne. [Japanese]
(But it is not tasty at all even if you eat it on the
same day.)
Y: 68) Oh, yeah? [Shin-Issei]

[83] At Y and F's residence. Y and F were talking about their friends.

Y: F, kore-ne, T no obasan ga, she went back to Japan,
kotoshi no aki, H ga tanon de ano- okutte kuretan datte.
[Shin-Issei]
(F, Mrs. T went back to Japan this fall. H sent her
[a package] and asked her to [give this to us.])
F: Ah. [Nisei]
Y: H to T family no pikucha- dokoni oite kita ka-na?
(Where did I put H and T family's picture?)
[Shin-Issei]
F: Ah-, Nansai? Ima? (How old is [H], now?) [Nisei]
Y: 69) Yeah. [Shin-Issei]
F: Dakara nanika okurun dattara... (So, if you send him
something...) [Nisei]
Y: 70) Yeah. Ah-, moteru no, boy, R ka ... He is a very
nice boy now. Very good. [Shin-Issei]
(Yeah. Ah-, that popular boy. Yes, R. He is a nice
boy. Very good.)

Y's responses were all English throughout this setting. The other responses obtained in different settings were like "Is that right?," "uh-huh?," "mmhm," and "Oh, my!". Usually they are found in a Japanese conversation. One interesting point in terms of code-switching is that only English responses could be identified in most data of the Japanese conversation; there were very few Japanese equivalents heard, such as "Ah-, so" (Is that right?), "He-," and "Ara-" (both are the same as Oh) in English.

English preference in response was strengthened by the examples of [82] and [83], which indicated a steady use of English in a Japanese-dominant conversation. Code-switching was not even triggered by the Japanese language previously used just prior to the response. It seems that responses are spoken in English no matter which language is used in the conversation. Judging from this, it is rather clear that English takes charge of backchannels and responses.

Another point worth mentioning here is the frequency of the response by Y. Y backchanneled four times: the same number as the speaker's lines. In fact, Y responded two times by saying 67); 66), and the next Japanese response of "un," spoken before I completed my line. According to White (1989), Japanese backchannel more than Americans when they interact with in-group members (p.62). He said that it is for the purpose of giving comfort to the speaker that the interlocutor is listening and understanding (p.62). Taking this point into the consideration, Y's frequent backchanneling seemed to be basically influenced by her Japanese instinct even though the language she dealt with was English. She grew up to adulthood in Japan, so that frequent back channelling was naturally acquired as her language behavior. Also, perhaps she had picked up English backchanneling terms as something easy to say in English before she was very comfortable speaking English in longer phrases where English was the usual language.

Part III

PATTERNS OF CODE CHOICE IN THE SPEECH COMMUNITY

Language choice of an individual

Language use on the community level is based on the language choice behaviors of individuals. Observation of the ties between language choice and the participant, and the different functional uses of language when dealing with various interlocutors, first at the level of an individual, provides some guidelines to interpret language use at the community level. To that end, the language choices of a particular subject, "Y", will be examined in detail.

"Y", as described in chapter 3, is the wife of "F"; and she immigrated to Canada when she married. She has three grown children. She is well known in the Lethbridge area for her various volunteer activities in the Japanese-Canadian community. She and her husband are members of the Raymond Buddhist Church; she is president of the Satsuki-kai, a club for Japanese wives who came to Canada to marry Nisei husbands; an instructor at the Japanese traditional dance club; she works part-time at a nursing home mainly for Japanese senior citizens; and is active in the local Japanese-Canadian Association. I accompanied Y most of my time during the five days of my stay at their house, and observed her language behavior. Her language choice fell into four patterns, depending on the person to whom she was speaking, and her social role. Each pattern is identified and discussed below.

The first pattern was a mix of English and Japanese, with free code-switching both intersententially and intra-sententially. This pattern occurred when speaking to her husband "F" and some Nisei. The percentage of English and

Japanese was about the same, with English used slightly more. She used English consistently in some categories, such as numbers, weekdays, months, year; and backchannelling (inserting encouraging words while listening to an interlocutor).

When she spoke in Japanese to her husband, whose first language is English, she sometimes repeated the same phrases, especially if his response was uncertain. If he was still not sure about the meaning, she used an easier expression. Superficially, this pattern appears to arise because of F's lack of Japanese comprehension, but the point to be noticed here is her attitude toward the language selection. According to her, she actually tries to use simpler expressions as much as possible when talking to F in Japanese. This effort affects her process of thinking. She acknowledged that she automatically paraphrased her thought into simpler expressions in her mind before speaking, especially when the code is Japanese. To communicate with Nisei, Y freely switches codes depending on the interlocutor's Japanese fluency. Her frequent and free use of intersentential and intra-sentential code-switching appears to be her technique to communicate with Nisei compound bilinguals.

The second pattern that Y employed was to use more English and less Japanese at a Japanese dance class that she teaches. Instructions are mostly in English, for the sake of the Sansei and one Nisei student who does not comprehend Japanese well. On the other hand, the other Nisei students speak Japanese all the time during lessons, including questions to Y and even to their club mates. After the lesson they return to speaking English to other Nisei classmates, and Y, meanwhile, returns to Japanese. Yet, as a result of being influenced by the students'

English, her language choice sometimes shifts to English. "Y" mentioned to me that Nisei wanted to practice their Japanese in class, and those who are good at it continue to use Japanese even though Y gives them guidance in English. "Y" feels that English is the best code to use for instruction as all the students understand it, regardless of what some of the students prefer.

Her third pattern is to use Japanese most of the time, such as when she talks to the members of Satsuki-kai. This is a plausible choice since all the members are Japanese who still have some difficulty with English. During the Buddhist conference, there was a short interaction with her and some members to discuss the coming schedule. What caught my attention at that time was that even they switched codes to English for terms such as numbers, dates, and backchannelling, within a Japanese sentence structure. When they talked to me, however, they did not use a single word of English. Once they returned to talking about their own matters, their pattern of speech changed to their original "Satsuki-kai style". "Y", as president, talked the most and switched languages the most frequently; and the other members' style followed hers.

The last pattern Y used was to speak only in Japanese when talking to Japanese who arrived in Canada in recent years or who are here temporarily. She attended to speaking proper Japanese without mixing her terms. When Y spoke to me, a temporary visitor to Lethbridge from Japan, she used Japanese; but sometimes inserted English for the words which she could not remember in Japanese. This is a common phenomenon for people who live in another country and use another language for a long time. I could, however, feel that she endeavored to use the best Japanese possible, at least toward me. She seemed to think that someone with a

Japanese ethnic background should speak good Japanese. For this reason perhaps, she paused or extended the sound of the last syllable of words whenever she had difficulty finding words in Japanese. In those instances, she usually took her time until she came up with the right word.

Even one individual displays a variety of speech patterns depending on the interlocutors in a bilingual speech community. The choice of language, including code-switching, is of course strongly related to the language competency of interlocutors; but the social and psychological factors surrounding the speaker and interlocutors cannot be neglected; for example, the social role of an instructor to give the best guidance, or the decision to retain one's ties to a certain ethnic background. These factors may cause bilingual speakers to alternate languages. Taking social and psychological factors and the setting into account, bilinguals select the right code to speak to each interlocutor. This selection comprises the foundation of the interpersonal relations in a bilingual speech community.

Language choice patterns of Japanese-Canadians between generations

To conclude the chapter, I will shift from individual perspectives and turn to the whole speech community. This selection will provide an idea of how the members of a single speech community communicate with one another, and how the language functions as a method of making ties within the community. Three patterns of speech were identified based on inter- and co-generational communication: 1) Shin-Issei vs. Nisei, 2) Shin-Issei vs. Shin-Issei, and 3) Nisei vs. Nisei. These dyads are considered to be the structural populations of the speech community, based on their abilities to use English and Japanese for mutual communication.

The first speech pattern observed in the speech community is between Shin-Issei and Nisei. Code-switching occurs most frequently in this dyad. They are also the most frequent interlocutors. When people from these two generations interact, the language code is a Japanese grammatical structure. In other words, Nisei have to use what is a second language for them. The degree of correctness of their Japanese, needless to say, varies depending on their language skills, through which they make free use of intersentential and intrasentential code-switching.

Table 4. The rate of C-S between Nisei and Shin-Issei

C-S type	Shin-Issei -> Nisei	Nisei -> Shin-Issei	Total
Inter.	37	18	55
Japanese	(12)	(8)	(20)
English	(25)	(10)	(35)
Intra.	2	16	18
Jap. base	(2)	(15)	(17)
Engl.base	(0)	(1)	(1)
Total	39	34	73

Table 4 indicates a few interesting tendencies of inter-generational language use. Firstly, intersentential code-switching is favored by Shin-Issei compared to Nisei; and the number is almost double that of Nisei. As for intrasentential code-switching, it is obvious that Nisei use it much more than Shin-Issei. Secondly, taking a close look at the content of intersentential code-switching rates for each group, Shin-Issei switch to English, which implies that their language choice is Japanese most of the time. Nisei fall in the middle since they use Japanese and English intersentential code-switching at the same rate; the occurrence of the two code-switching types is almost equal (inter-18, intra-16), which suggests that their language choice tendency is flexible. As for language preference, the Japanese influence is still a bit stronger; (Japanese and Japanese-based switching for Nisei = 23, whereas English and English-based = 11).

The fact that Nisei favor Japanese indicates their optimistic attitude toward their ethnic language. At least they are happy about retaining Japanese, and can use it to talk to Issei and Shin-Issei. As regards their language attitude toward Japanese, the Nisei are largely divided into three groups. One is those who can speak it very fluently, especially those who went to Japan with their parents after the war and lived there until early adulthood when they decided to return to Canada. Some of them have an antagonistic feeling sometimes towards speaking Japanese, because it reminds them of their hard times in Japan, when they belonged nowhere - neither to Canada nor Japan. However, overall, they actively initiate conversations in Japanese when talking to Shin-Issei or visitors from Japan.

The second group is comprised of those who can speak Japanese well enough to carry on a conversation, but feel inferior in their level of spoken Japanese. The majority of them went through the same process of learning Japanese in their childhood by attending Japanese school in the Vancouver area and using the language at school. These people tend to begin their conversation in English when talking to Shin-Issei and Japanese visitors; and after a while, with the humble remark that their Japanese is poor, they gradually begin to speak Japanese. Once they start talking, they lose their shyness and even become eager to use Japanese and show how well they can speak it.

The last group is composed of those who cannot speak Japanese well enough to communicate, but who know a lot of Japanese vocabulary. These Nisei hardly try to speak Japanese. The difference in language retention among the Nisei is due to the lack of opportunity to use the language, and also family habits. Some families avoided being visible as Japanese, and did not encourage their children to learn the language. Nevertheless, after a long period of time, many Nisei became more conscious of their Japanese background; and regretted losing their ethnic language. One Nisei couple told me a story of their experience of traveling in Japan to meet their relatives whom they had never met before. According to them, the fact that they could not use the language of their relatives and needed an interpreter depressed them greatly; and they regretted having lost the language. Today, many Nisei in their 50's and 60's try to attend Japanese language classes. It is true that they cannot speak the ethnic language well, but they do have the spirit to understand their Japanese background and the will to regain the language.

Despite the variation in the level and background of Japanese language attainment among the Nisei, they have in common a positive attitude to retaining Japanese. Making the best of the opportunities to use the language, they accommodate to speaking with Shin-Issei by mixing the two languages intersententially and intrasententially. The Shin-Issei, meanwhile, try to use English intersententially while Japanese is their dominant code while conversing with

Nisei. The dominant role of speech activities of these two generations is to use Japanese, and to retain the ethnic language in the speech community.

The second speech pattern occurs between Shin-Isseis. Their basic communicative code is Japanese, but they sometimes use intersentential code-switching. The expressions of intersentential code-switching seem to be restricted to simple single sentences such as "How nice!" or responses such as "Oh, yeah" and "Is that so?". They also use English for nouns, adjectives, weekdays, and numbers even while speaking in Japanese (intrasentential). [Intersentential - 8, intrasentential - 1].[1]

The way they speak seems to me to be so nearly unique as to warrant the label of a "Lethbridge Japanese dialect". It is different from the way in which Shin-Issei living in the Edmonton area speak among themselves: they never alternate between codes, much less mix the two languages. A major factor in creating the Lethbridge speech style is the existence of a large enough population of Japanese in the community among whom the language can be used to communicate, and the availability of occasions for people to socialize with other generations by using the two languages. This is not the case for Edmonton, at least. Despite the fact that the city has the second largest Japanese population in Alberta next to Calgary, including those who are long-term residents and holders of Canadian citizenship, (Calgary - 706, Edmonton - 487)[2], the Japanese and their descendants are more dispersed in Edmonton, and the function of Japanese as an ethnic language is not as distinct as in Lethbridge. The Japanese and Japanese-Canadian population in Lethbridge is much more close-knit, which makes it possible for them to socialize between generations in Japanese.

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[1] . The other rates of code-switching out of 153 cases were between M and researcher (intrasentential - 26, intersentential - 7); Y and researcher (intrasentential - 7, intersentential - 9), and chairman and the audience (intersentential - 2).

[2] . The numbers are based on the study by the consulate general of Japan, Edmonton in 1991.

Other social factors have contributed to the unique use of the two languages by Shin-Issei. They live in a bilingual society in which English is dominant; however, they use Japanese at home and with Japanese neighbors. This tendency became strong during the past two decades, when more Japanese and Japanese-Canadians began to get involved in city activities. Until then, many lived on farms, isolated from one another; and bilingualism did not mean as much as it does today. One Shin-Issei woman told me that she could get by speaking only Japanese when she came to Canada about thirty years ago, and at that time she did not feel she was in an English-speaking foreign country. Most Shin-Issei in Lethbridge whom I contacted have lived in Canada close to a quarter of a century, and many of them are married to Nisei. They have been living in an environment in which both languages were used; and this situation accelerated their unique linguistic accommodation to their particular social setting.

As regards the handling of two languages, some parts of their mother tongue have been replaced by English counterparts, such as the greater frequency of using certain categories of words in English, or simply being affected by the other peoples' usage. Eventually, after speaking it in their way with other members of the community for a long time, the speech style is now accepted as their own communicative style. It appears to be a pidgin in a multilingual society, which may identify other members of the same community. Relating to this point, I was told a story of a Shin-Issei woman married to a Japanese man who moved to Lethbridge from Japan in the past decade. She felt out of place at a gathering of Japanese wives because of the different Japanese the others were speaking. She could not feel secure or comfortable with those women at all.

In this way, the Shin-Issei pattern of speech among themselves is quite unique in how it was influenced by certain social factors. The Shin-Issei "Lethbridge Japanese dialect" could be regarded as the result of their adjustment to using two languages in a new speech environment.

The last speech pattern recognized in Lethbridge is that between Nisei and Nisei. English is their major code of speech; however, they sometimes switch to Japanese intersententially or intrasententially (14 intersentential, 6 intrasentential out of 153 switches). In terms of using the two types of code-switching, it is the same as that between Shin-Issei and Shin-Issei, except that the flow of conversation is more natural when they use intersentential code-switching. Intersentential code-switching among Shin-Issei seems to be somewhat stiffer and to imply some strategic messages in general; that is to say, their code-switching behavior seems to be motivated. The difference between the two groups may be caused by the different perceptions of two languages. As suggested by Weinreich (1953), the code system of compound bilinguals, whose word concepts from two languages are combined in one context, allows them to use two languages more naturally than coordinate bilinguals (Shin-Issei).

The other difference is that for Nisei, code-alternation at the intrasentential level largely is dependent on topic. Nisei tend to use intrasentential code-switching when talking about personal things such as family matters. On the whole, such topics are still expressed with quite a lot of Japanese vocabulary, which continues to be used in many Nisei households. It is a vocabulary for which there is no good English equivalent, and for this reason Nisei employ intrasentential code-switching in this context.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

JAPANESE CHARACTERISTICS IN ENGLISH-JAPANESE CODE-SWITCHING

Findings and application to past studies

This project analyzed data on English-Japanese code-switching in a Japanese speech community in Lethbridge, southern Alberta, in terms of typology (intersentential and intrasentential), social and interactive meanings, and the patterns of actual language usage. This case study of a language pair on which very little research has been done indicated some agreement with findings based on other language pairs, but also found some unique factors related to code-switching in this language pair.

As specified by several researchers in the past (Nishimura, 1986; Lipski, 1985; Grosjean, 1982), code-switching is classified into two groups: intrasentential and intersentential. Both inter- and intrasentential types were favored by Nisei participants who are compound bilinguals. By contrast, Shin-Issei subjects who are coordinate bilinguals preferred to use intersentential code-switching. Grammatical constraints in intrasentential code-switching in the English-Japanese pair were not apparent. A language usually is altered at a point in a sentence where grammatical elements of both languages are shared. Many switches occurred at noun, conjunction and phrase levels. It was also revealed that code-switched sentences were based on a single language grammar, Japanese, in this study. Intrasentential code-switching tended to be "unmarked", in Scotton's (1989) terms; or less expressive of the motivation of the speaker. However, an exception to this pattern in the present study was in code-switched English sentences with the Japanese sentence final particle. This usage appeared to mark a motivation to suggest to an interlocutor to follow the sentence in Japanese. Intersentential code-switching was found to be "marked" in the present study, and expressive of the inner thoughts of a speaker.

In contrast to previous findings by Poplack (1980), a correlation was not found between the high frequency of intrasentential code-switching and proficiency in two languages. The data of this study suggested that an individual could learn an intrasentential way of speaking from the beginning, without going through the process of separately learning two languages.

The analysis of intersentential code-switching was based on Scotton's (1983, 1989) finding that intersentential code-switching was meaningful for negotiation among the participants of a conversation. Her explanations did apply to English-Japanese code-switching in the Lethbridge community. Other researchers' findings on the various meanings of intersentential code-switching also applied to the English-Japanese language pair; that is, topic shifts, attracting attention, filling the lack of vocabulary, continuing the last language used, quoting someone, excluding someone from conversation, and so on. Besides these meanings, Beardsley and Eastman's (1971) view of pause causing code-switching was admitted as one phenomenon in the present study.

"Language previously used" is one discourse element of code-switching that is mentioned by many researchers. In the present study, it was evident that the code-switching affected by the interlocutors' choice is not durable but rather temporary. The language choice usually lasted for only a single sentence or a maximum of a few lines. This event occurs when a speaker unconsciously switches, and is probably due to the fact that the speaker who switches the language in response to an interlocutor's usage realizes the actual change which occurred to his own code choice in the middle of conversation. He notices it is not the right one, and consequently returns to the original code which had been consciously chosen.

What causes this short-term language alternation is, in my opinion, an individual's language perception relating to an interpersonal relationship. As discussed in chapter 4, the original selection of a language is strongly bound with the person with whom one talks. The language one uses is already settled at the beginning of the conversation, owing to the identity of the interlocutor. For example, in order to talk to A, an interlocutor uses English; but to B, he switches to French. The language one chooses is fixed, and speaking the right code gives a comfortable feeling to a speaker and an interlocutor. Because of this psychological factor, a code shift that occurs unconsciously in a speaker is likely to return to the original code as soon as he realizes the change, even if the interlocutor has changed the code.

Japanese characteristics

The number of code-switching studies increases dramatically every year, but few studies have been conducted on language pairs whose linguistic genealogy is very distant. In this study, two characteristics were found to be uniquely related to Japanese: the psychological factor, and semantic domains. The psychological factor of English-Japanese code-switching refers to the language choice behavior relating to interpersonal relationships. Two language choice patterns were identified: one is to switch language to the interlocutor's choice or his mother tongue to show respect to him; and the other is to select Japanese to be humble for the purpose of paying respect to the interlocutor, or putting himself at the same social level. Both patterns are consciously selected by the speaker as a marked communication strategy, and are in contrast to the "language previously used" discussed above.

Respect and humility are important values in Japanese culture, which are mutually and widely understood by the Japanese. Toward social peers, one is also expected to be polite. The choice of language form (polite, humble, and respectful), a soft tone of voice, and a slightly constrained body posture reminiscent of a bow contribute to this communication.

These Japanese cultural values have influenced the language alternation among the English-Japanese bilinguals in this study. Switching a language to his interlocutor's mother tongue or choice is the expression of the speaker's respect to the interlocutor, and also an interactive method for asking a favor. Mild self-criticism in public is also considered to be a positive attitude by the Japanese, and is a periphrastic expression of respect. Although the self-criticism is not usually interpreted literally by the listener, it encourages solidarity with the people to whom one talks - that is to say, it reassures them as if to say, "I am not superior to you", "I am the same as you".

It was rather fascinating for me to come across code-switching examples which appeared to be based on Japanese values. This finding strongly suggests that there are some Japanese psychological values functioning among the Japanese-Canadians in Lethbridge, and the members of the speech community know the right code choice of Japanese for particular social and interactive purposes.

The second point which is peculiar in English-Japanese code-switching was found in the semantic domains. Culture-related words such as food triggered code-switching. Personal pronouns and numbers were also switched to English. These last-named categories reveal both cultural-psychological factors and language fluency as affecting code-switching strategies in this Japanese-Canadian community.

The first category was the personal pronoun "I". Many Nisei subjects referred to themselves as "me" instead of "I" in a Japanese sentence; for example, "Me wa-ne, yokei onion taberu hou dakedo," which is translated as "I eat more onions compared to the others". In a Japanese conversation, personal pronouns such as "I" and "You" are often omitted because one knows who is meant from the content of the conversation, and the use of humble or respectful verb forms. Among Lethbridge Nisei bilinguals, it seems to be quite popular to use the personal pronoun "me"; and this practice may be the result of the influence of English in which the subject of the action has to be indicated.

Another possible reason why "me" is used may be due to the grammatical difference between English and Japanese. English changes the form of the pronoun, either subjective, possessive, and objective; and the pronoun is followed by a verb which agrees with it; whereas in Japanese, the personal pronoun does not have a case, but only a single form. Case is indicated by a particle which follows the pronoun. For example, "wa" is a subjective form, "no" is a possessive form, and "o" is an objective form. Since particles decide the case of subjects, it is not important what case is used for a subject. Applying this explanation to "Me wa," the particle "wa" indicates the phrase is subjective, no matter which case is used for the English personal pronoun.

Another interesting point about the personal pronoun is that there is no example of "You wa-ne" in the data. "You", as well as "I", are the most frequently used personal pronouns in English; but "you" was not heard at all in either the recorded data or the unrecorded casual conversations. The absence of this form seems to be the result of the complexities of the system of Japanese personal pronoun usage, which makes one avoid using them. It is also related to the vertical social structure in Japanese society. If one speaks Japanese and uses personal pronouns, he has to know which of several words for the personal pronouns "you" should be used to address a certain person in a particular setting. For example, there are four terms for "I" in Japanese: "watakushi," "watashi," "boku," and "ore"; and six terms for "You": "anata," "anta," "kimi," "kisama," "otaku," and "omae". "Watakushi," "watashi" and "anata" are polite forms and commonly used. "Boku" and "kimi" are used for friends, or someone who is in a lower position than you. "Otaku" implies "you" as a member of a family. "Anta" is used by both men and women, but is not polite. Lastly, "ore," "omae," and "kisama" are used only by men; and are considered impolite to use in any situation. These complexities may have made Nisei subjects avoid using personal pronouns in Japanese. English personal pronouns are much easier to use instead. It is thus reasonable that Nisei would use "me" instead of "I" in a Japanese sentence; and not mention "you", except in an English sentence.

Similarly, number is another complex category in Japanese; and English may have been favored in that domain because it is much simpler. Japanese employs a counter system which varies according to the objects being counted.

For instance, to count books in Japanese, one says "i-satsu," "ni-satsu" (one book, two books); sheets of paper, "ichi-mai," "ni-mai" (one paper, two sheets of paper); apples, "i-kko," "ni-ko" (an apple, two apples); cars, "ichi-dai," "ni-dai" (one car, two cars); and shoes, "i-ssoku" and "ni-soku" (one pair of shoes, two pairs of shoes), et cetera. If one counts numbers of products in Japanese, it is mandatory to know these different counters. In English, one has only to put numbers in front of nouns which take the plural suffixes "s" or "es" at the end. This difference may be the reason why numbers were expressed in English in most code-switched sentences. This observation also reinforces the idea that the Lethbridge Japanese dialect is a kind of pidgin. Speakers use the constructions that are easiest; and may not, in some cases, feel fully fluent in either language.

The social meaning of code-switching in the Lethbridge Japanese speech community

As described in chapter 4, three English and Japanese speech patterns are identifiable among Shin-Issei and Nisei in the speech community of Lethbridge. Here, I would like to pose the final question of the underlying meaning of code-switching in the Lethbridge Japanese society. The key concept in this question is the fact that the way people speak to each other in that community is unique - it differs from the way Japanese-Canadians and Japanese immigrants speak in other places such as Edmonton. If this is the case, it points to some strong social implications to be derived from their code-switching.

In Edmonton, English is the dominant language for Nisei, and Japanese for Shin-Issei. Furthermore, there is less socialization between the two generations due to the diversification of the population of Japanese-Canadians

(Nisei and Sansei) and Japanese new immigrants (Shin-Issei). One of the executive members of the JCCA (Japanese-Canadian Community Association) in Edmonton said that there was always some difficulty in communication during cultural events which required the cooperation of the two senior generations. She added that the problem seemed to be more than just the matter of a language barrier: it was more like a lack of some "common feeling" between them.

Generally speaking, the historical and cultural differences between the two generations would be expected to cause a generation gap, but this is not the case in Lethbridge. Both Shin-Issei and Nisei are active members of the Japanese speech community, and participate in social and cultural activities together; thus, there is less of a gap between them. We can ask why there is more coherence between the generations in Lethbridge, disregarding the fact that the Lethbridge Japanese community is less scattered than that in Edmonton. Is it related to speech behavior? If so, how is it effective in terms of maintaining solidarity between the generations? The data gathered in this project suggest that code-switching strengthens the intra-group solidarity among the members of the speech community in Lethbridge, specifically between Shin-Issei and Nisei.

Code-switching is commonly recognized among other Japanese-Americans and Japanese-Canadians, such as in Toronto, San Francisco (Nishimura, 1986, 1989), and in Hawaii (Higa, 1974). Although the languages used for code-switching are the same as those in Lethbridge, I would predict that the type of code-switching differs according to location. By "type" I do not mean intra- and intersentential code-switching; but the frequency of inserting the other language into a single grammatical sentence, and the domains of words which tend to be alternated. The social connotations of the words would be expected to differ as well.

The speech pattern differences would be based on various social and cultural factors in each speech community. Speech patterns are strongly affected by the structure of the speech community: the members' social status and values, and economic level. Bilingual fluency is another important factor, as is the social rank of the two languages. The value attached by members to the ethnic language is vital in terms of its use for communication. All these elements differ in different places, with the result that each speech community has its own unique form of communication. As a particular speech pattern becomes common in a specific community, the members tacitly set the rules and agree on the usage patterns of two languages for ingroup communication. When a certain speech pattern is identified with members of a distinct group, group solidarity can be greatly enhanced.

The Shin-Issei and Nisei generations in the Lethbridge English-Japanese speech community use code-switching as their unique and effective method of communication between the generations. This speech pattern has developed through their frequent social activities, shared as a distinct group with common cultural and social values. The activities have been conducted using English as the dominant language, and ethnic Japanese. Code-switching thus has had a great influence in creating solidarity between the generations in the Lethbridge Japanese-Canadian community.

CONCLUSION

In the Japanese speech community of Lethbridge, where approximately 3,100 Japanese and Canadians with Japanese background live, the ethnic language is still widely used. The free alteration of English and Japanese languages is often recognized among Shin-Issei and Nisei residents who have organized the major populations in the community in terms of active social powers. Their communication code is "English mixed Japanese," from which intersentential and intrasentential code-switching has emerged. It gives an impression of a unique style of speaking. Actually, there were at least three patterns of inter- and co-generational exchange of code-switching recognized in the present study, and there is another possibility of the link extending to the Issei generation.

It is sometimes mentioned that there is a communication or cultural gap between Shin-Issei and Nisei which may be mainly caused by the different lifestyle they led in the past, in different parts of the world with different cultures. This is probably the case in other parts of Canada, such as Ontario and Winnipeg, where many other Japanese-Canadians live. However, particularly in Lethbridge, no stiffness was seen between these two generations, at least among the subjects with whom I socialized. They are involved in local activities together. This rather unusually good combination of two generations probably owed much to their code-switched patterns of speaking in which they share each of their first languages. Code-switching is also their own creation of a code which marks them as a separate group. In sum, code-switching not only acts as an intermediary to cross the bridge between Shin-Issei and Nisei, but also tightens the solidarity of Japanese-Canadians in Lethbridge.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Most academic research is accompanied by some limitations in methodology and data. This study is no exception, and its limitations are important. The first problem is diversity in the subjects' level of bilingualism. Although I settled on a definition of bilingualism as having a minimal language ability in two languages, it is obvious that there was a wide range of competency among the subjects. What is more, it seems to be impossible to grade an individual's language ability and only select the subjects who are so-called "same level bilinguals". This variety of language ability may have affected the results of the research.

Another problem is the imbalance of the recorded data collected at four places. One place provided more data than another, where the subject types and background setting of the conversations were different. Therefore, a single character of speech behavior tended to be more prominent than others. (For instance, there were a lot of data on the conversation between Shin-Issei and Nisei, using the example of "Y" and "F"). Furthermore, the nature of the setting is biased in that almost all data used for the present study were recorded in my presence. Because of this situation, subjects were conscious of me; and in a sense, the data was not natural. Had been there more occasions without my presence, the data might have added more insights to the code-switching and the speech patterns of the people.

Code-switching is at the forefront of recent studies in sociolinguistics, psychology, and linguistic anthropology. In the past few years, a tremendous number of studies on this language behavior have been conducted in each of those disciplines. Nevertheless, further study is needed from different perspectives; for instance, the relationships between code-switching and ethnic identity, code-switching and language loss, and the detailed study of speech patterns of people within multilingual economic communities in terms of language choice. Further research in these areas will help to clarify the ties between speech communities and communicative patterns of the members of the communities; and will uncover, among other things, the essential nature of communication models among human beings.

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APPENDIX

The following are other code-switching examples extracted from the data obtained in this study. Due to space constraints, only the examples which did not appear or were partially recorded in the thesis body are included.

[1] Setting: Buddhist conference. Topic: Greeting
Participants: Y and her friend, B

Y: Mou kaeru-wa. Danna ga mukae-ni kuru kara.[Shin-Issei]
(I will leave now. My husband is coming to pick me up.)
B: Yasashii danna-san dakara...See you later. [Shin-Issei]
(Your husband is kind...)

[2] Setting: Buddhist conference. Topic: Greeting
Participants: Y and B (Shin-Issei)

Y: Sorejya mata. Raishuu? Denwa suru kara. [Shin-Issei]
(See you. Maybe I'll see you next week. I'll phone you.)
B: O.K., O.K., bye. Sorejya mata. (See you.)[Shin-Issei]

[3] Setting: At a hotel room. Topic: Shiatsu(finger pressure therapy.) Participants: F and five others.

F: Shiatsu yatteruto-ne, yoku naruno-ne. Senaka yaruto-ne, ano- ah- (pause). Sometime every time jyanakute sometime ne. Ano-, you naru- hara-no chooshiga-ne. It relaxes, relaxes the whole stomach area. Sorede mo byoin ikanakute ii-ne.
(If you practice finger pressure therapy, you feel better. If you push your back, aha-, ah- (pause). Sometime, not whole every time, your stomach gets better. It relaxes, relaxes the stomach area. Then you do not have to go to a hospital.) [Nisei]

[4] Setting: Hotel room Topic: Apple orchard
participants: Y, S (Shin-Issei) and F
F is still doing finger pressure therapy to S. He is talking to Y.

Y: N-san no tomodachi ga-ne, Kelowna de-ne, appuru no ochado o motteru-no. [Shin-Issei]
(Mr. N's friend owns an apple orchard in Kelowna.)

S: Fuu-n, (uhnnn..)   [Shin-Issei]
F: Tomodachi ga motteru-no? (Does your friend own that?)
[Nisei]
Oh, I wanna buy some. Last year, three or four box
koutakara-ne. (I bought three or four boxes of apples.)
Ano-ne, appuru dake tabetano. Ano, four or five months.
How many months attaka-ne. Appuru ga ne. One or two
apple mottene.
(Well, I ate just apples, ah-, for four or five months.
How many months did [I have apples]? I had one or two
apples.)
F: Anyway, nanimo hokani tabenai. Just apple. Soshitara
ano-, tottemo ii-yo. Soshite mekata wa heru-ne.
(Anyway, I don't eat anything else. Just apples. Then
I feel good. You can lose weight.)   [Nisei]

[5] Setting: hotel room   Topic: A finger pressure therapy
Participants: F and N.

F is doing finger pressure therapy to N and talking to him. Meanwhile, the other four who had engaged in speaking in Japanese together paid attention to these two people. F gradually puts some Japanese words in his speech, being conscious of his peers.

F: Neck and back. She does a massage, right? [Nisei]
N: Yeah, little bit. Most time, she just rub.[Shin-Issei]
F: You can care of neck and ano-, atama ga mawaran toki
ni-ne. (when your neck is too stiff to turn it)
you just take the head like this, ne. Then you do this
but the trouble is six months later, six months no
aidani-ne, chotto wrong way ni ugoitara-ne, back out
again.
(within six months, if you move your head the wrong way,
[stiffness] backs out again.) [Nisei]

[6] Setting: Conference   Topic: Introduction
Participants: Y, R, K and K's wife.

K and K's wife
Hi! Hi, Y, how are you?   [Nisei, Shin-Issei]
Y: Ah-, onesan ga Y-san ni kawatta-no? Ojyo-san
(Ah- You change the way you call me, from One-san to Y-san. Ojo-san.)   [Shin-Issei]
K: Sou, ojo-san. (Right, ojo-san.) [Nisei]
Y: Honto- ni youkoso toi tokoro o. [Shin-Issei]
(I really welcome you coming from far away.)
K: Arigatou. (Thank you.)   [Nisei]
Y: Kyou wa ryokou de kita you de arigatou gozaimasu. Uchino

kyou no gesuto no Shima Naomi-san. [Shin-Issei]
(Thank you for coming here for a trip. This is our guest, Miss Naomi Shima.)
Y: Mr. K. (Introducing to me.) [Shin-Issei]
R: Hai, hai. Ohanashi ukagai mashita. [Japanese]
(Yes, yes. I have heard about him.)
Y: Sou sou sou. Yokatta. (To K and K's wife) Kesa korare-ta? Kinou-ne? [Shin-Issei]
(Right right right. That's good. Did you come here this morning, or yesterday?)
K: Kinou. (Yesterday.) [Nisei]
Y: Kinou. Jya, yokatta. Michi mada yokatta desho? [Shin-Issei]
(Yesterday. That's good then. I suppose the road was not bad.)
K: Un, basu de kita. (Yes, we came by bus.) [Nisei]
Y: That's a good idea. Un yokatta. (Yes, good.) [Shin-Issei]

[7] Setting: Conference, lunch Topic: Age
Participants: Y and two Nisei women

There was an announcement that senior people are to be the first to get lunch. People are waiting in lines.

Y: Toshi yori? No. (You say I'm old? No.) [Shin-Issei]
T: You are! [Nisei]
P: Sonna koto nai mono-ne. (You are not, aren't you?) [Nisei]
Y: Nandaka ikki ni toshi yori ni miraretara.. Thank you.
(I'm suddenly looked at as senior. Thank you.) [Shin-Issei]
[laugh]

[8] Setting: Conference, lunch Topic: Taste
Participants: Y and R

R: Un, oishii. (Ah, good.) [Japanese]
Y: Ah, sou? Good! Ne, sandoicchi raito desho? [Shin- Issei]
(Is it right? Good! The sandwich tastes light, doesn't it?)

[9] Setting: At Y and F's residence at supper table
Topic: onion dish
Participants: Y, F and R

F: Naomi, ano-ne, sandoicchi taberun dattara-ne, sandoicchi ni iretara tottemo ii-yo. [Nisei]
(Naomi, if you eat sandwiches, it is good to put [the onion] in it.)

R: U-n. [Japanese]
Y: Ne, mayonezu de aete-ne. (Yes, you mix with
mayonnaise.)
[Shin-Issei]
F: Ima Naomi kaketeru youni gohan no ue ni kakete taberu no
suki dene. Kore-ne, one day kurai oitara-ne, mada aji
ga you shimi komu kedo-ne, chotto honey ireruto-ne,
oishii yo.
(I like to put it on top of rice as you are doing right
now. If you leave the onion dish for a day, then it
becomes more tasty. If you put a bit of honey in it,
it's good.) [Nisei]

[10] Setting: Y and F's residence Topic: A dish
Participants: Y and R

R: Kono kare- no nimono wa douyatte tsukurun desuka?
[Japanese]
(How do you cook this curry dish?)
Y: (Giggle a little) Kore wa-ne, watashi ano, (pause)
everything mix suru-no. Brown, brown ni suru-no.
[Shin-Issei]
(This dish...I ah..., mix everything. Make it brown)
R: Fu-n. [Japanese]
Y: Demo kore wa.. Ano (pause and hesitate) curry powder,
ato cream stew no are ga sukoshi haitteiru kara.
(But this is ... Ah-, (pause and hesitation) this
includes curry powder, [instant mix] of cream stew.)
[Shin-Issei]
R: Nanika tokubetsu na shi-zuningu wa? [Japanese]
(Did you add any special seasoning?)
Y: Nanika ireta? Onion to pawda-. [Shin-Issei]
(Did I add anything? Onion and powder.)

[11] Setting: Y and F's residence
Topic: Daughter Participants: Y and F

Y: Mezurashiku kyou G kara terehon konakatta-ne.
[Shin-Issei]
(We didn't get a phone call from G today, did we?)
F: U-n. [Nisei]
Y: She has to save money. [Shin-Issei]
F: Kono aida calling card ni tsukenakatta-no? [Nisei]
(Didn't she charge it to the calling card last time?)
Y: No, collect call. [Nisei]

[12] Setting: Y and F's residence Topic: preserved food
Participants: Y, F and R

R: Hozonshoku ni iidesu yone? [Japanese]
(The onion dish is good to preserve.)

F: Dareka kiraitte ittara.. [Nisei]
(What if someone does not like it?)

Y: Maybe cabbage. Cabbage mo oishii-yo. [Shin-Issei]
(The one of cabbage tastes good, too.)

R: A, sounan desu-ka? (Is that right?) [Japanese]

Y: Un. [Shin-Issei]

F: Cabbage karada ni wa tottemo iikedo-ne. Cabbage banni tabetara tottemo nerumade muzukashii kara tabetaku naino-ne.
(I don't want to eat cabbage much at night because it makes your stomach heavy before you fall asleep. It is true though that cabbage is good for health.) [Nisei]

Y: Dakedo binega- to issho dato chigau no-yo. Coleslaw or ah-, nandatta? [Shin-Issei]
(But it is different if you cook it with vinegar. Coleslaw or ah-, what is it called?)

F: Cabbage coleslaw? [Nisei]

Y: No. Ano-, ...so-se-ji to taberu. U-n, Hangarian no. Ukurenian no. [Shin-Issei]
(You eat with sausages. U-n, Hungarian's or Ukrainian's?).

F: Coleslaw. [Nisei]

Y: No. [Shin-Issei]

F: Not coleslaw but ah... [Nisei]

R: Nantonaku wakaru. (I think I know what it is.) [Japanese]

F: Cabbage roll. [Nisei]

Y: No. [Shin-Issei]

[13] Setting: Y and F's residence Topic:Burdock
Participants: Y, F and R

F: Ano gobou oishii yo. Gobou attara mou nanimo iranai none.
(Burdock tastes good. I don't need any other dish as long as there is this burdock dish.) [Nisei]

R: Watashi mo suki nan desu-yo. Demo mondai ga atte.. Taberuto... [Japanese]
(I like it, too. But there is a problem. Once you eat it,..)

Y: Nai nai. Kokono wa nai. (No, No. This one does not have any problem.) [Shin-Issei]

R: Nain desu ka? (There is not any problem?) [Japanese]

F: Hana katsuo ga tsuite irukara. [Shin-Issei]
(Because this one contains dried tuna meat.)

R: U-n. [Japanese]

F: Gobou attara hokani okazu nanimo iranai no. Aru toki niwa ippai taberuno ne. [Nisei]

(I don't need any side dish as long as there is burdock dish. I eat a lot when it is served.)
[Laugh, pause - 5 seconds]
Y: Let me see. [Shin-Issei]
[pause - 2 seconds.]

[14] Setting: Y and F's residence Topic: milk
Participants: F and R

F: Milk ga kirai to iuno wa amari naine. But karada ni awanai hito wa daibu oru-ne. [Nisei]
(There are not many people who say they dislike milk. But there are many who say their body does not accept milk.)
R: Watashi mo dame desu. Attametara iidesu kedo-ne. [Japanese]
(I am one of them. It is O.K. when it's warmed.)
F: Kodomo no toki uchide milk shibotte ta kara-ne. Milk wa-ne, mou every meal, four or five, six cup nomi yotta-ne. [Nisei]
(When I was small, we produced milk at the farm. I had milk every meal, drinking four or five, six cups.)

[15] Setting: Y and F's residence Topic: Basketball
Participants: Y and F

Y: Ashi ga nagai desho, karera wa. [Shin-Issei]
(They have long legs, don't they?)
F: Kanojyo wa-ne, yu-gosurabia kara kite ru-no. Kono basuketto yatta tokini wa Taber kara otoko ga hitori kite otte, everyday ano- tsuuyaku shini kite otta-ne. [Nisei]
[pause 3 seconds.]
Y wa ikana kattan da. Itta no?
(She was from Yugoslavia. When the basketball [tournament] was held, everyday, there was a guy from Taber who worked as an interpreter. He came to Lethbridge everyday.)
[pause] You did not come, Y? Did you come?
Y: Same group! [Shin-Issei]
F: Me wa-ne, Y doko ni ittaka sapa- misu shita-no.
(I wondered where Y went. [Because of that], I missed supper.) [Nisei]

[16] At Y and F's residence. Y and I were talking about the letters used for Y's name. Meanwhile, F started using an electric screwdriver in the kitchen where Y and R were talking.

Y: Y wa-ne. ([The spelling of my name], Y is..)
[Shin-Issei]
R: Hiragana de? (Hiragana?) [Japanese]
Y: Katakana. [Shin-Issei]
R: Ah, Katakana! (Y and R laugh] [Japanese]
F: Y wa "Don't make noisy" iute, Naomi kitekara okosareru yara, asa wa urusai toka itte ite, koredake urusai kara,.. Mou. [Nisei]
(Y tells me, "Dont make noisy". After Naomi came, I was awake in the morning. She had complained to me that I woke her but now she is this noisy. Really.)
A: No, I said, "Don't make noisy." [Shin-Issei]

[17] Setting: Y and F's residence Topic: Onion dish
Participants: F, Y and R

F: Ano-, mou tabe nai? (To R) [Nisei]
(You don't have this any more?)
R: Hai. (No, thank you.) [Japanese]
F: Ato sukoshi tabete kara cabbage iretara...Next time, next time. Ah... (pause) tabetara mada oishii-yo.
[Nisei]
(After you eat this a little bit more, and then you put some cabbage [in the container], .. next time, next time. Ah... (pause), it tastes good when you eat this next time.)
Y: Souyo-ne. (Yes, right.) [Shin-Issei]

[18] Setting: Y and F's residence Topic: basketball
Participants: F, Y and R

F: Ano-, kono intermerril no Mormon chimu o makaseta tokini wa rebound o me ga ichiban yoku totta-ne. Dakara Mormon no mono wa mou makasareta kara mou gakkari shita-no. De-,
(Ah-, I took the rebound the most when our team won against the Mormon team. The members of the Mormon team were disappointed about having lost the game.) [Nisei]
Y: But not Japanese team, isn't it? [Shin-Issei]
F: No, no. You know what ah.. Ano-, ano-, Saint Stevens College no team datta-no. [Nisei]
(They were the Saint Stevens College's team.)
Y and R: Fu-n.
F: Sono team ni six foot seven no senshu ga ita-no.
(In that team, there was a player [whose height] was six feet seven.) [Nisei]
R: Six feet seven! [Japanese]
F: But rebound wa me ga ichiban yoku totta-ne. [Nisei]
(But I took the most rebounds.)

[19] Setting: Y and F's residence Topic: Onion dish
Participants: Y, F and R

Y: Tekitouni jibunde-ne, resepi- tsukutte mitara ii.
(You had better make up your own recipe.)
Just zairyou-ne. Apple cider vinegar. Nani wo irenakya nara nai-ka... oil. [Shin-Issei]
(Just ingredients. Apple cider vinegar. What do you have to add..? oil.)
F: Sunflower oil or Kerala oil. Cooking oil iretara ii-no.
(You can just use cooking oil.) [Nisei]
R: Sore dono kurai desu-ka? [Japanese]
(How much do you add?)

[20] Setting: Y and F's residence Topic: Onion dish
Participants: F and R

F: Honey o ireru to mukou wa iwana katta no-ne. But ah-, I think apple cider vinegar tottemo karadani ii kara honey ireta no. But Naomi ga tsukuru nara chiisana apple cider vinegar de jyuubun. Konnani wa tabenai kara-ne.
([The neighbor who introduced me to this dish] did not mention to put honey in it but, ah- I think apple cider vinegar is very good for health, therefore, I put in honey. But Naomi, if you make that only for yourself, the small bottle of vinegar is enough. You probably do not eat much.) [Nisei]
R: Konnani wa tabenai desu. [Japanese]
(I do not eat this much.)
F: Me wa kono botoru three day de taberu-yo. [Nisei]
(I finish eating this in the bottle in three days.)

[21] Setting: Y and F's residence Topic: Orange
Participants: F and R

R: kaze hiita toki ni, daigaku no herusu kurinikku ni iki masu
yo-ne. Asoko e ikuto takusan pop nonde takusan orenji o tabenasai tte iware masu-yo. [Japanese]
(You go to the health clinic at the university if you get a cold. When you go there, you will be told that you should drink a lot of pop and eat a lot of oranges.)
F: Orenji tabetemo-ne, kawa o tabenakattara dame-yo.
[Nisei]
(If you do not eat the skin, it does not mean much.)
R: Kawa? Kono kawa desu-ka? [Japanese]
(Skins? You mean this skin? [pointing to the orange]
F: Yeah. [Nisei]
R: Eh, Kono kawa taberun desu-ka? [Japanese]

(You eat this skin?!)
F: Once every three weeks ni-ne, all kawa o ikkai kurai taberu-no. [Nisei]
(Once every three weeks, I eat all orange skins.)

[22] Setting: Y and F's residence Topic: Honey
Participants: F and Y

F: Honey wa never waruku nara nai-yo. (Honey never gets bad.) [Nisei]
Y: Oh...? [Shin-Issei]
F: Yes, never. Y to-ne, giron suru to-ne. [Nisei]
(When I argue with Y,)
Y: I don't say any. [Shin-Issei]
F: Honey to sugar wa same thing to iu desho. Sugar wa-ne, chotto haitte oru to kabi kuru-yo. Honey wa never kabi konai-yo.
(She says honey and sugar is the same thing. If sugar is contained, then it makes things moldy. But honey never gets molds.) [Nisei]
Y: But we... [Shin-Issei]
F: Ha? [Nisei]
Y: We have to .. Ano-, body ni haittara-ne, sugar wa sugar.
(Sugar is just sugar once honey gets in the body.)
[Shin-Issei]
F: No, dear. [Nisei]
Y: I said, I said. Ano- .. I didn't say 100% same.
[pause 3 seconds] Mina onaji desho. (Everything is just the same.) [Shin-Issei]

[23] Setting: Japanese dance class
Topic: Instruction of dance
Participants: Y, W1, W2, W4 and W5

W1: Kore wa ano-, shiranai hito, older people ne, ano-hontou ni ano te-pu ga sumu desho. [Nisei]
(For this tune, ah-, those who don't know this yet, especially older people, ah-, when this tape finishes..)
W2: Some difference ga nai to-ne, sorega-ne, dounaru? [Nisei]
(There has to be some difference. What are they going to be?)
Y: I don't know. [Shin-Issei]
W1: Kondo wa-ne, sensei ga kita toki ni, mou hitotsu no Heisei wo oshiete moratte-ne, chotto kawatte iikamo shirenai. Sonnani konnani ta-n surukoto ga naito omou. Awanain jya nai kato... [Nisei]
(Next time, when the master comes to visit us, why don't we learn the other Heisei Odori(dance). It may be good to have a change. Probably, there are not so

many turns. I wonder if there are many turns; it will be difficult for us to synchronize [with the music].)
Y: Ah-, dameda dameda sore wa. [Shin-Issei]
(Ah-, that's no good.)
[Everyone laughs]
W4: Oh, yeah. Damejya nai. (Oh, yeah. It's no good.)
[Nisei]
Y: Ne-, Good good. Antano suteki yo. [Watching at W5's dance.]
(Good, good. Your dance is good.) [Shin-Issei]
W5: I couldn't do that. [Sansei]
[Laugh - six seconds]
Y: Ii? Kasa motteru desho. Ah-. [Shin-Issei]
(O.K.? You hold an umbrella. Ah-.)
[Laugh - four seconds]
Y: Ah-, dameda dameda. (Ah-, no good, no good.)
[Shin-Issei]
W2: Kantarou utatta kara omoi dashite irun desho. [Nisei]
(You probably remember [the move for Kantarou dance] since you sang the song [just a minute ago].)
Y: Sou, omoi dashite iruno. (Yes, I remembered.)
[Shin-Issei]
W1: Tan, tan to mae e detara kirei dato omotte, tan tan.
[She clapped her hands and danced.] [Nisei]
(Clap your hands, and think you are pretty and another clap.)
Y: O.K. Jya, Nihon ne. Nihon Ondo? [Shin-Issei]
(O.K. Next is Nihon Ondo?)
Are we practice the same one or enough?

[24] Setting: Japanese dance class
Topic: Instruction Participants: Y and W3

W3: "Kokoro" tte kite tsugi koushite ta-n shite... [Nisei]
(After you hear the word "Kokoro" [in the tune], you turn like this and...)
Y: Yeah. O.K. [Shin-Issei]

[25] Setting: Japanese dance class
Topic: Instruction Participants: Y, W1,and W3

W1: "Eda o sakae ni na mo shire nu." [W1 dances as she sings.] [Nisei]
Y: Ima atta mitai. Up, again, cross. O.K.? [Shin-Issei]
(Now you matched with the tune.)
W3: Asoko dewa kou haitte itte.. [Nisei]
(So you move this way first..)
Y: Aha? [Shin-Issei]
W3: Ashi o dasu tokoro o patto ageru noto onaji kimochi?
(and then lift your leg swiftly where you are supposed to.) [Nisei]

Y: Sakini dasuno. One, two, three, four made kokone. Kou.
(You step out first. You stay there until you count one, two, three, four. Like this.) [Shin-Issei]
W1: Dakara sa, konnani nagaku dashite. Kore o patto tomete, kakete, shoshite ashi o ageruno? [Nisei]
(So, You keep this position for that long and stop. Then cross your leg and lift it up?)
Y: Sou-ne. (Right.) [Shin-Issei]
W1 and Y: One, two, three, four.
W1: Oh, I see. O.K. [Nisei]
Y: O.K. Sorejya last one. (O.K. Then the last one.) [Shin-Issei]

[26] Setting: At Y and F's residence. Topic: jet lag
Participants: Y, F and R

F: Tottemo tsukarete irukara itsumo you neteoru-yo.
(M sleeps well since she is so tired. [whenever she comes back home.] [Nisei]
R: F-n. [Japanese]
F: Acchi kara kocchi e kaette kuru toki mou half a day mou day to ban ga kurutte kurukara hontouni tsukareru none.
(You get so tired when you come back [from Japan to Canada] since almost half a day and an evening is different between the two countries.) [Nisei]
R: Nippon ni ikutoki wa soudemo nain desu-yone.
(When you go to Japan, [jet lag] is not that bad.) [Japanese]
F: Yeah. [Nisei]
R: Watashimo sou deshita. Isshukan kurai okashii desu mono.
(I got jet lag, too. I felt funny for a week or so.) [Japanese]
F: Yeah. Kocchi kuru toki ni? [Nisei]
(Yeah. When you come here?)
R: Soudesu. (Yes.) [Japanese]
F: Yeah. [Nisei]
Y: Watashi nanka nijuu nannen okashiimono. [Shin-Issei]
(I feel funny for some twenty years.)

[27] Setting: Y and F's residence
Topic: The category of industry
Participants: Y and R

R: Dai sanji sangyo tte nan deshita kke? Sa-bis gyou deshi ta kke? [Japanese]
(What is the tertiary industry? Is it a service industry?)
Y: I don't know what dai sanji sangyou is. [Shin-Issei]

[28] Setting: Y and F's residence
Topic: B family Participants: Y and R

Y: Kono B san ne, he was service gyo ne. [Shin-Issei]
(This B family member engages in the service industry.)
R: B, J san. [Japanese]
Y: J? [Shin-Issei]
R: Hai. (Yes.) [Japanese]
[pause for three seconds]
Oxford place
[pause for seven seconds]
Wakannai. (You don't know him.)
Y: Un. (No.) [Shin-Issei]
R: Wakannai no wa wakannai. (What you don't know is not known.) [Japanese]
Y: B san no tokoro wane, hitori wa doctor. Ato ma, Nihon no miyoji o kangae naide... [Shin-Issei]
(In B's family, one is a doctor. If you don't think about the family name,)
R: Hai. (yes.) [Japanese]
Y: B san de ikuto, one girl is a lab technician-ne. Byoin ni hataraite iru-ne. Boy wa nani o yatte ruka wakara nai. Mou yonjyuu-go kurai-ne. O.K. B no kyoudai ga...[pause for two seconds] Aha ha, mou mix up shite. Mix up suru wa. Let me see. [Shin-Issei]
(B family, one girl is a lab technician. She works at a hospital. I don't know what their boy is doing. He is already about forty-five. O.K. B's brothers. Aha ha, I mix up. I mix up. Let me see.)

[29] Setting: Tonari-gumi, Bingo Topic: number
Participants: P1 and P2

Announce: N no yonjyuu-san. N forty-three.
P1: Oh, the same. [Nisei]
P2: Yeah. Ima iuta bakari. (Yes, he called it just a moment ago.) [Nisei]

[30] Setting: Tonari-gumi, bingo Topic: result of the game
Participants: Women 6, 7 and 8

After the game, several women cleaned up the kitchen, doing dishes. A few women were talking about the result of the day's game as they washing dishes.

W6: let me see. [Nisei]
W7: Bingo atatta? (Did you win today?) [Nisei]
W6: No, no. Kyou atara nai-no. Kono mae wa ne. [Nisei]

(No, no. Not today. I won last time though.)
W8: K san kyou atattan desho? [Nisei]
(Did K win today, didn't she?)
W6: Kyou datta kana? (I wonder if that is today.) [Nisei]
W8: I think so. Hayou ni attate ta desho. (She won at the beginning.) [Nisei]
W6: No, kono aida jya nakatta kana? Tonari no H no obasan mo.
(No, wasn't that last time? Mrs. H won, too.) [Nisei]
W8: Oh, oh, oh. [Nisei]